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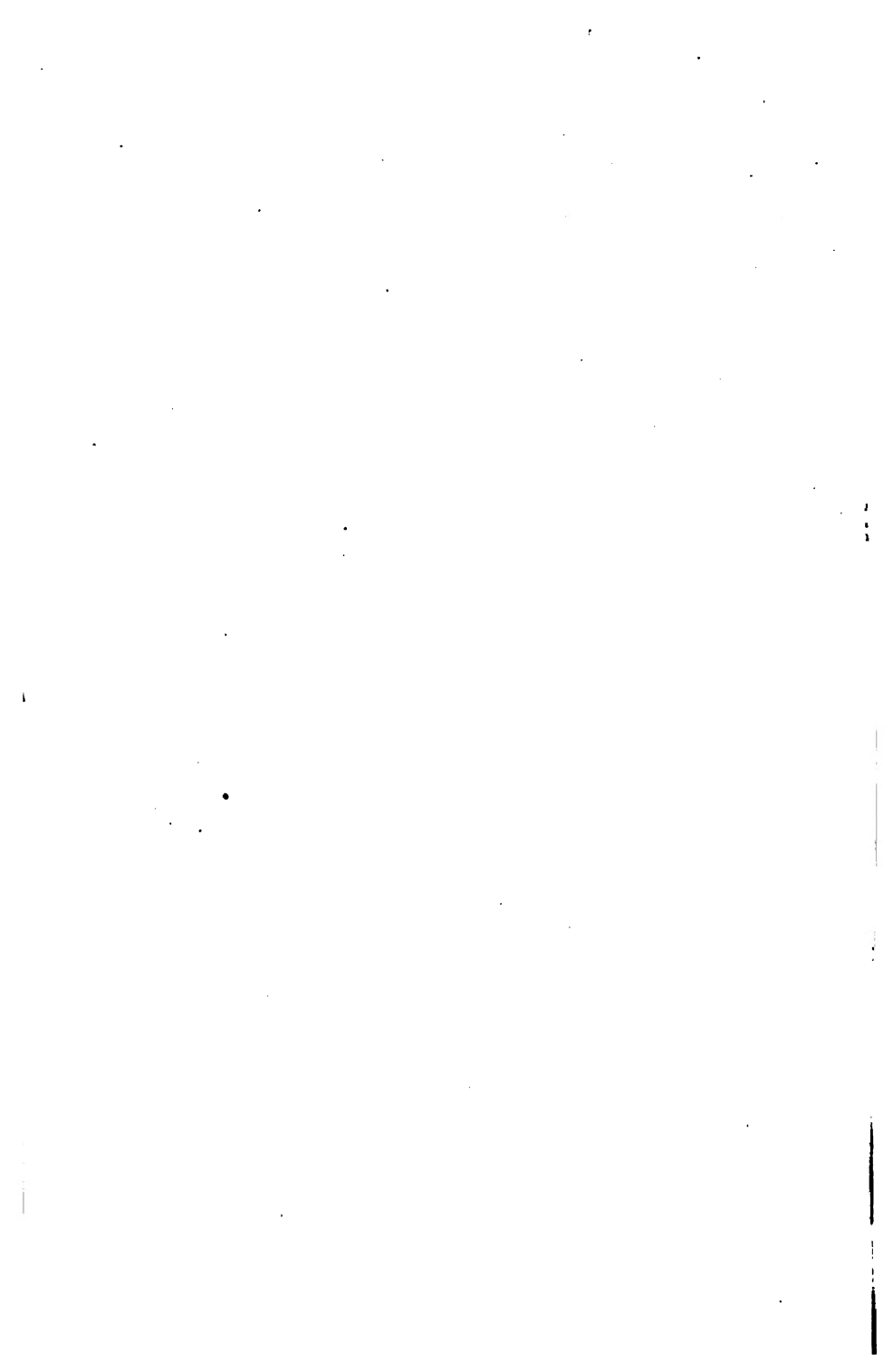
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BIBLICAL STUDY

ITS PRINCIPLES METHODS AND HISTORY

TOGETHER WITH A

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS OF REFERENCE

BY

CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS D.D.

DAVENTPORT PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND THE COGNATE LANGUAGES IN THE
UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY NEW YORK CITY

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C BBI
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TO

ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D., LL.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK, AND
WASHBURN PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE SAME,

AND TO

ISAAC A. DORNER, D.D.,

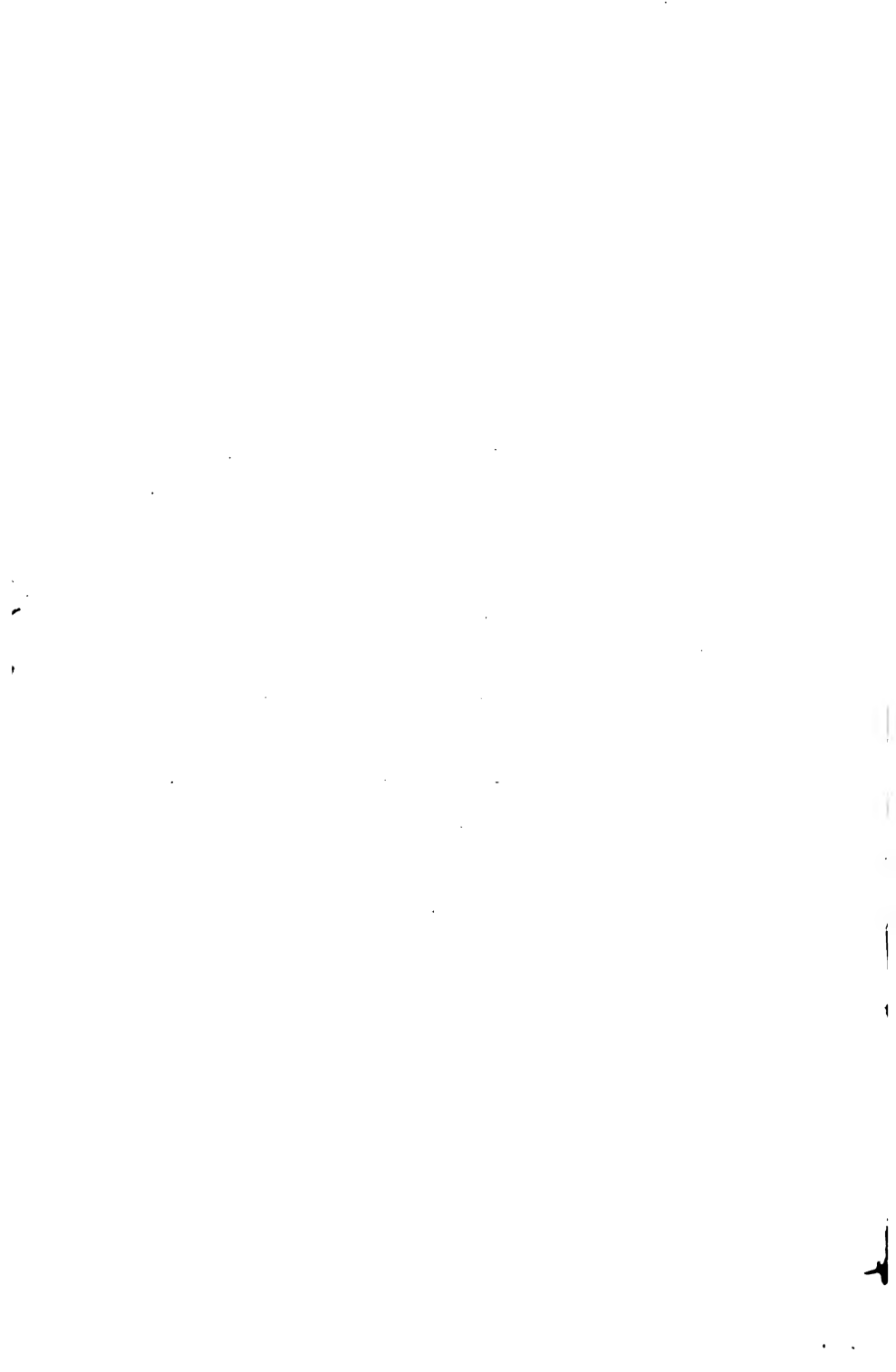
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN:

THE SURVIVORS OF TWO NOBLE FACULTIES,

TO WHOM THE AUTHOR OWES HIS THEOLOGICAL
TRAINING,

This Book

IS DEDICATED AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION.



PREFACE.

THIS work is the product of the author's experience as a student of the Bible, and a teacher of theological students in Biblical Study. From time to time, during the past fourteen years, he has been called upon to give special attention to particular themes in public addresses and review articles. In this way the ground of Biblical Study has been quite well covered. This scattered material has been gathered, and worked over into an organic system.

The following articles and addresses have been freely used wherever the material contained in them seemed appropriate: (1) Two articles on *Biblical Theology* in the *American Presbyterian Review*, 1870, pp. 105 *seq.*, 293, *seq.* (2) An inaugural address on *Exegetical Theology* on the author's induction into the chair of Hebrew and Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, October, 1876; published in the *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, 1877, p. 5, *seq.* (3) An address before the Sunday-school Teachers' Association of New York on the *Languages of the Bible*, in the autumn of 1876, which was published in the volume *God's Word Man's Light and Guide*, New York, 1877, p. 37, *seq.* (4) An article in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1881, p. 551, *seq.*, on the *Right, Duty, and Limits of Biblical Criticism*. (5) Two articles in the *Homiletical Quarterly*, London, 1881, pp. 398, *seq.*, and 535; *seq.*; on *Hebrew Poetry*: (6) An article in the *Pres-*

byterian Review, 1882, p. 503, *seq.*, on *Biblical Theology*. (7) An article in the *Hebrew Student*, 1882, p. 65, *seq.*, on the *Literary Study of the Bible*. (8) An article in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1883, p. 69, *seq.*, on the *Critical Study of the Higher Criticism, with special reference to the Pentateuch*. (9) An address upon the *Scriptures as a Means of Grace*, delivered before the Sunday-school Convention of the Presbytery of New York in the winter of 1882, and then enlarged and delivered before the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, at Lancaster, Pa., in May, 1883. (10) An address before the Union Theological Seminary, New York, at the opening of the term, September 20, 1883, on the *Interpretation of Scripture*. This material has been used by the author when it suited his purpose, but it will be found that the additional matter is far greater than that already given to the public in these scattered pieces, and that the book is a complete and symmetrical whole.

The author has aimed to present a guide to Biblical Study for the intelligent layman, as well as the theological student and minister of the Gospel. It is his conviction that the scientific study of the Word of God should be combined with a devout use of it. Piety and scholarship must be wedded in order to the best results. It is a misfortune that they should ever be divorced.

A great revival of Biblical Study is now in progress in Great Britain and America. It is all-important that this revival should be guided in the right direction. Scholasticism and Rationalism are alike perilous. Scholasticism is largely responsible for the neglect of a scholarly study of the Scriptures for a century in English-speaking lands. (See pp. 123, *seq.*, 145, *seq.*, 149,

seq., 206, *seq.*, 209, *seq.*, 345-346, 373, *seq.*) It is chiefly responsible for the reaction into the other extreme of Rationalism. As Scholasticism is the chief provocative to Rationalism, it can never by any possibility overcome it. The evangelical spirit of the Biblical authors, the vital and experimental religion of the Reformers and Puritan fathers is the only force that will be at all effective. It is necessary that we should react to their principles and methods, and build upon them. True progress in theology is to be found in the working out of the principles of the Reformation and of Puritanism, in carrying them on to higher and grander results. These principles have been neglected by British and American theologians of the past century. It has been a constant aim in this book to call attention to these principles and to the methods of Biblical Study based upon them, and to explain the doctrine of the Bible in the chief Puritan symbol, the Westminster Confession, by citations from its authors and their forerunners. (See pp. 114, *seq.*, 167, *seq.*, 335, *seq.*, 371, *seq.*)

At the same time a sketch of the entire history of each department of Biblical Study has been given, the stages of its development are traced, the normal is discriminated from the abnormal, and the whole is rooted in the methods of Christ and His apostles.

The Literature of Biblical Study has been considered in its appropriate places in the system. But it has been deemed best to present a catalogue of a reference library for Biblical Study by itself at the end of the work. The labor that has been expended upon this part of the book will be appreciated by those who have had experience in Bibliography. These will be ready to excuse any defects or errors that may have arisen from inadvertence or lack of material.

The ground of Biblical Study has been covered, with the exception of Biblical History. This department has been included in the Reference Library because it seemed necessary for completeness. It has been omitted from the discussions because it is usual to classify Biblical History with Historical Theology. The author did not care to determine this disputed question in a work already sufficiently extensive.

In the use of Scripture the freedom which characterizes the Biblical authors, the fathers, the reformers, and the Puritan sires has been followed. The A. V. and R. V. have been quoted, or modified, or a new translation from the originals has been given, just as it suited the author's purpose at the time. He has been concerned chiefly to give the sense of the originals of divine revelation.

The three indexes have been prepared by the author's pupil and friend, Rev. Charles R. Gillett, A.M., the librarian of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, to whom he would express his thanks for the great pains taken in the work.

With an implicit faith in the God of the Bible, and the power of grace contained in the holy Word; and with an unwavering recognition of the supreme excellence of the written Word, as the mirror of the eternal Logos; and with an entire submission to its authority as supreme over all doctrines of men and ecclesiastical decisions, this Biblical Study is submitted to the judgment of the intelligent reader.

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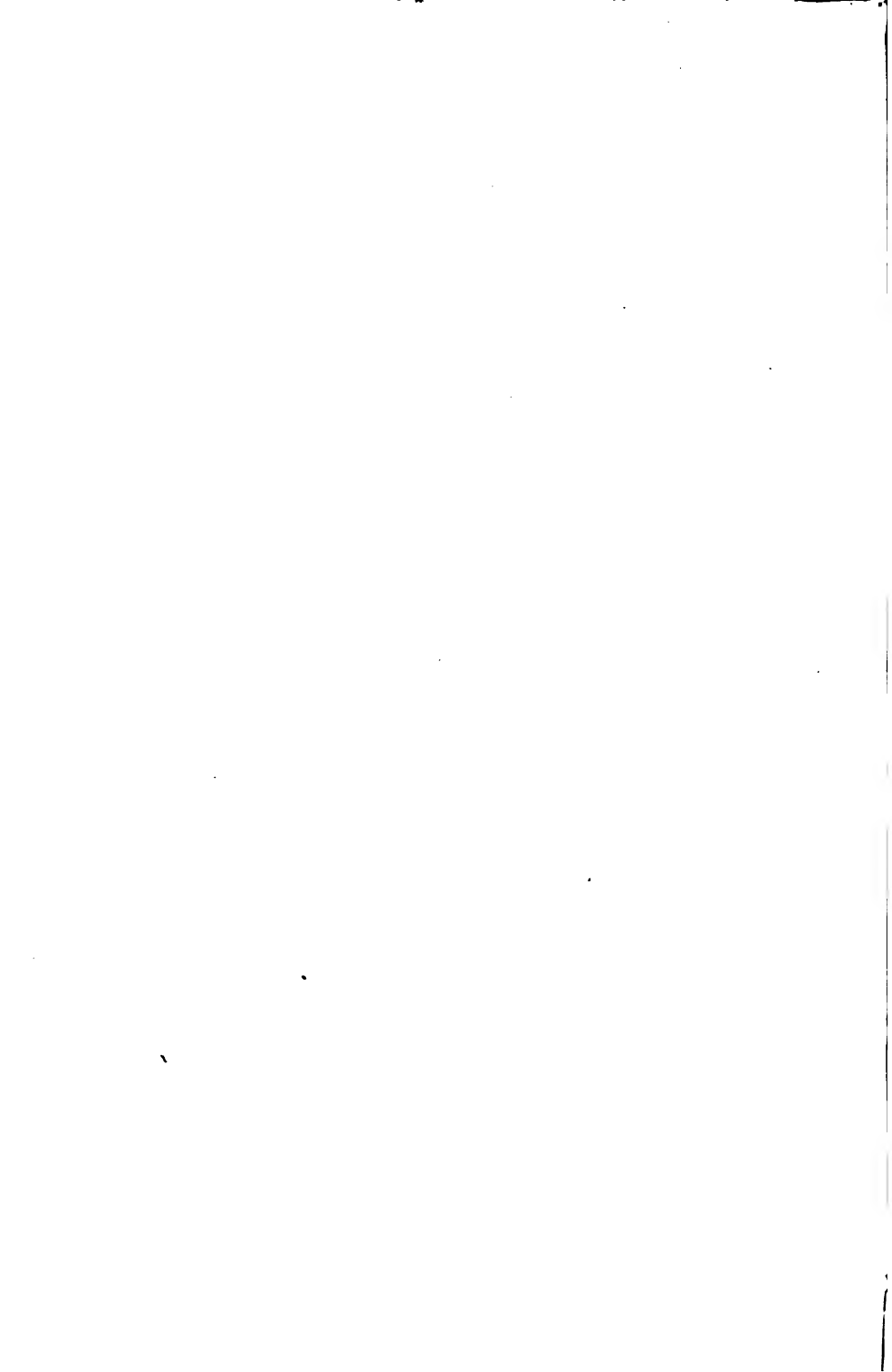
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CHAPTER I.

THE ADVANTAGES OF BIBLICAL STUDY.

BIBLICAL study is the most *important* of all studies, for it is a study of the Word of God, which contains a divine revelation of redemption to the world. Nowhere else can such a redemption be found save where it has been derived from this fountain source or from those sacred persons, institutions, and events presented to us in the Bible. The Bible is the chief source of the Christian religion, Christian theology, and Christian life. While other secondary and subsidiary sources may be used to advantage in connection with this principal source, they cannot dispense with it. For the Bible contains the revelation of redemption; the Messiah and His kingdom are the central theme; its varying contents lead by myriads of paths in converging lines to the throne of the God of grace. The Bible is the sure way of life, wisdom, and blessedness.

Biblical study is the most *extensive* of all studies, for its themes are the central themes which are inextricably entwined in all knowledge. Into its channels every other study pours its supply as all the brooks and rivers flow into the ocean. The study of the Bible is a study for men of every class and occupation in life, for all the world. No profound scholar in any department of investigation can avoid the Bible. Sooner or later his

special studies will lead him thither. The Bible is an ocean of heavenly wisdom. The little child may sport upon its shores and derive instruction and delight. The most accomplished scholar finds its vast extent and mysterious depths beyond his grasp.

We open the Bible and on its earliest pages are confronted with the origin of the world, the creation of man, the problem of evil. Its histories present, in brief yet impressive outlines, the struggle of good and evil, the strife of tribes and nations, and, above all, the interplay of divine and human forces, showing that a divine plan of the world is unfolding. The springs of human action, the secrets of human experience and motive are disclosed in the measures of psalm and proverb. The character, attributes, and purposes of God are unveiled in the strains of holy prophets. The union of God and man in redemption is more and more displayed in the progress of its literature. Two great covenants divide the plan of redemption into two stages, the old covenant and the new. The former presents us instructions which are a marvel of righteousness, holiness, and grace; institutions that are symmetrical and grand, combining, as nowhere else, the real and the ideal,—the light and guide to Israel bearing on to the new covenant. In the latter the Messiah presents His achievements of redemption in which are stored up the forces which have shaped the Christian centuries, and the secrets of the everlasting future. All the sciences and arts, all the literatures, histories, and religions of the world gather about the Bible to contribute to its study and derive help from its revelations.

Biblical study is the most *profound* of all studies, for it has to do with the secrets of life and death, of God and man, of this world and other worlds. Its chief con-

tents are divine revelations. These were revealed because man could not attain them otherwise. Even those contents of the Bible that are not revealed are colored and shaped by the revelations with which they are connected. All study which goes beyond the surface soon reaches the mysterious. There are many mysteries that patient and persistent investigation has solved, is solving, or may be able to solve. But the mysteries revealed in the Bible are those which man has not been able to attain by inductive and deductive investigation. When the study of the other departments of human learning has reached their uttermost limits, there still remains a gulf between those limits and the contents of divine revelation. Divine revelation is to the other departments of human knowledge what heaven is to earth. It is above them, it encircles them—it envelops them on every side. Like heaven, it discloses vast heights. Those things which are revealed lift the student of the Bible to regions of knowledge that reach forth to the infinite. And yet profound as the divine revelation is, it is simple. It is like the sunlight bearing its own evidence in itself. It is like the blue vault of heaven clear and bright. It is a revelation for babes as well as men, for the simple as well as the learned. The most profound study cannot master it. Any attentive study of it is rewarded with precious knowledge.

Biblical study is the most *attractive* of all studies. The variety of topic, richness of material, beauty of form, wealth of illustration, the vast importance of its themes, the unity in which the amazing variety of author, age, and topic is bound together—all make the Bible the most interesting and absorbing study for peasant and prince, for child and sage, for all the world.

If this is not the actual experience of all mankind, it

is not the fault of the Bible, but of the religious teachers who have obtruded their traditions and theories upon the Bible as the Pharisees did in the time of our Lord Jesus (Matt. xv. 6; Col. ii. 8). The people and learned men have been too often driven from the Bible by Protestant ministers as well as Roman Catholic priests.

The Bible has been hedged about with awe as if the use of it, except in solemn circumstances and with devotional feelings, was a sin against the Holy Spirit. Men have been kept from the Bible as from the sacraments by dread of the serious consequences involved in their use. The Bible has been made an unnatural and unreal book, by attaching it exclusively to hours of devotion and detaching it from the experiences of ordinary life. The study of the Bible will inevitably lead to holy and devout thoughts, will bring the student to the presence of God and His Christ—but it is a sad mistake to suppose that the Bible can be approached only in special frames of mind and with peculiar preparation. It is not to be covered as with a funereal pall and laid away for hours of sorrow and affliction. It is not to be regarded with feelings of bibliolatry, which are as pernicious as the adoration of the sacrament. It is not to be used as a book of magic, as if it had the mysterious power of determining all questions at the opening of the book. It is not to be used as an astrologer's horoscope to determine from its words and letters, the structure of its sentences, and its wondrous symbolism, through seeming coincidences, the fulfilment of biblical prophecy in the events transpiring round about us or impending over us. The Bible is no such book as this—it is a book of life, a real book, a people's book. It is a blessed means of grace when used in devotional hours,—it has also holy lessons and beauties of thought and sentiment for hours

of leisure and recreation. It appeals to the æsthetic and intellectual as well as moral and spiritual faculties, the whole man in his whole life. Familiarity with the Bible is to be encouraged. It will not decrease, but rather enhance the reverence with which we ought to approach the Holy God in His Word. The Bible takes its place among the masterpieces of the world's literature. The use of it as such no more interferes with devotion than the beauty and grandeur of architecture and music prevent the adoration of God in the worship of a cathedral. Rather the varied forms of beauty, truth, and goodness displayed in the Bible will conspire to bring us to Him who is the centre and inspiration of them all.

Another sin against the Bible is often committed by the indiscriminate use of proof texts in dogmatic assertion and debate. They are hurled against one another in controversy with such difference of interpretation that it has become a proverb that anything can be proved from the Bible. The Bible has been too often used as if it were a text-book of abstract definitions giving absolute truth. On the contrary, the Bible was not made for ecclesiastical lawyers, but for the people of God. It gives the concrete in the forms and methods of general literature. Its statements are ordinarily relative; they depend upon the context in which they are imbedded, the scope of the author's argument, his peculiar point of view, his type of thought, his literary style, his position in the unfolding of divine revelation. There are occasional passages so pregnant with meaning that they seem to present, as it were, the quintessence of the whole Bible. Such texts were called by Luther little bibles. But ordinarily, the texts can be properly understood only in their context. To detach them from their place and

use them as if they stood alone; and deduce from them all that the words and sentences may be constrained to give, as absolute statements, is an abuse of logic and the Bible. Such a use of other books would be open to the charge of misrepresentation. Such a use of the Bible is an adding unto the Word of God new meanings and taking away from it the true meaning. Against this we are warned by the Bible itself (Rev. xxii. 18-19). Deduction, inference, and application may be used within due bounds, but they must always be based upon a correct apprehension of the text and context of the passage. These processes should be conducted with great caution, lest in transferring the thought to new conditions and circumstances, there be an insensible assimilation first of its form and then of its content to these conditions and circumstances, and it become so transformed as to lose its biblical character and become a tradition of man.* It is a melancholy feature of biblical study that so much attention must be given to the removal of the rubbish of tradition that has been heaped upon the Word of God now as in the times of Jesus. The Bible is like an oasis in a desert. Eternal vigilance and unceasing activity are necessary to prevent the sands from encroaching upon it and overwhelming its fertile soil and springs of water.

The Bible is given to us in the forms of the world's literature, and its meaning is to be determined by the reader as he determines the meaning of other literature by the same principles of exegesis. It is a Protestant principle that the Word of God should be given to the people in their own familiar tongue with the right of private judgment in its interpretation. It is a corollary

* *Westm. Confession of Faith*, I. 6.

of this principle that they be taught that it is to be understood in a natural sense, as other writings are understood. Any unnatural and artificial interpretation bears its own condemnation in itself. The saving truths of Scripture can be "savingly understood" only through the illumination of the Spirit of God,* but this is not for the reason that they are not sufficiently plain and intelligible, or, that some special principles of interpretation are needed of a scholastic or cabalistic sort—but owing to the fact that in order to salvation they must be applied to the soul of man by a divine agent, and appropriated by the faith of the heart and the practice of the life.

We must call attention to a still more serious mistake in the use of the Bible. There are those who think that they alone have the truth of God; that the highest wisdom has already been attained, and that they are the guardians of orthodoxy. They presume to oppose the discoveries in science or philosophy, the improvements in theology and methods of church work, and even the deeper study of the Word of God itself, by isolated texts and traditional interpretations. Scarcely a profound thinker, since the days of Socrates, who has not been obliged to pause in his work and defend himself, like the apostle Paul, against these "dogs" and "evil workers" (Phil. iii. 2), Galileo was silenced by the quoting of the Bible against the Copernican theory of the revolution of the earth around the sun. Descartes had to defend his orthodoxy. The enemies of the Critical philosophy of Kant charged that no critic who followed out the consequences of his positions could be a good man, a good citizen, or a good Christian.†

* *Westminster Confession*, I., 6.

† These points are discussed by Krug, *Ueber das Verhältniss der Kritischen Philosophie zur moralischen, politischen und religiösen Kultur der Menschen*. Jena, 1798.

The results of Geology have been opposed by those who insist that the world was made in six days of twenty-four hours. Biology has to fight its way against those who affirm that the doctrine of development is against the Scriptures. Such use of the Bible has too often the effect of driving scholars away from it, and especially from the Old Testament, the most abused part of it.

As Dr. C. A. Row says :

"The fact is therefore indisputable, that theologians have handled Scripture on such faulty principles, that they have laid down as truths indisputably divine, a number of dogmas which have brought revelation into direct collision with some of the greatest discoveries of modern science, and that after having, on their first enunciation, denounced them as inconsistent with the belief that Scripture contains the record of a divine revelation, they have been compelled to accept them as unquestionable verities. Moreover, the general distrust arising from failures of this kind has been intensified by the pertinacity with which theologians have clung to various unsound positions which they have only abandoned when further resistance had become impossible. The history of the conflict between Science and Revelation is full of such instances, and the consequences have been disastrous in the extreme." *

Such theologians as those here described have brought disgrace upon the Church and especially upon the Old Testament Scriptures. Other and better theologians have taken the side of truth and science, and through their help progress has been made.

It is ever necessary for the friends of truth, and of progress in the Church to oppose and to overcome obstructionists. It is the duty of all lovers of the Bible to break up the superstitions that cluster about it, to expose the false dogmatic and polemic use of its texts, and to show that it favors all truth and every form of

* *Revelation and Modern Theology Contrasted*. London, 1883. p. 7.

scholarly investigation. The Bible is an honest book in all its parts,—it is the Word of God, and every sincere disciple of wisdom will find in its pages not only the real and the highest truth, but will be stimulated and encouraged to press forward under the guidance of the Holy Spirit unto all truth (John xvi. 13).

The design of this book is to set forth the principles, methods, and branches of Biblical study, and to give sketches of their history. It is proposed, first of all, to survey the whole field, and then to examine the several departments. We shall aim to explain the true uses of the Bible and show throughout that Biblical study is, as we have claimed, the most important, extensive, profound, and attractive of all studies.

CHAPTER II.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE most general term for the various departments of Biblical study is Exegetical Theology. Exegetical Theology is one of the four grand divisions of Theological Science. It is related to the other divisions, historical, systematic, and practical, as the primary and fundamental discipline upon which the others depend, and from which they derive their chief materials. Exegetical Theology has to do especially with the sacred Scriptures, their origin, history, character, exposition, doctrines, and rules of life. It is true that the other branches of theology have likewise to do with the sacred writings, in that their chief material is derived therefrom, but they differ from Exegetical Theology, not only in their *methods* of using this material, but likewise in the fact, that they do not *themselves* search out and gather this material directly from the holy writings, but depend upon Exegetical Theology therefor; while their energies are directed, in Historical Theology in tracing the development of that material as the determining element in the history of the people of God; in Systematic Theology, in arranging that material in the form most appropriate for systematic study, for attack and defence, in accordance with the needs of the age; in Practical Theology, in directing that material to the conversion

of souls, and training them in the holy life. Thus the whole of theology depends upon the study of the Scriptures, and unless this department be thoroughly wrought out and established, the whole structure of theological truth will be weak and frail, and it will be found, in the critical hour, resting on the shifting sands of human opinion and practice, rather than on the rock of infallible divine truth.

The work of Exegetical Theology is all the more important, that each age has its own peculiar phase or department of truth to elaborate in the theological conception and in the life. Unless, therefore, theology freshen its life by ever-repeated draughts from the Holy Scriptures, it will be unequal to the tasks imposed upon it. It will not solve the problems of the thoughtful, dissolve the doubts of the cautious, or disarm the objections of the enemies of the truth. History will not, with her experience, unless she grasp the torch of divine revelation, which alone can illuminate the future and clear up the dark places of the present and the past. Systematic Theology will not satisfy the demands of the age if she appear in the worn-out armor or antiquated costume of former generations. She must beat out for herself a new suit of armor from biblical material which is ever new; she must weave to herself a fresh and sacred costume of doctrine from the Scriptures which never disappoint the requirements of mankind; and thus armed and equipped with the weapons of the Living One, she will prove them quick and powerful, convincing and invincible, in her training of the disciple, and her conflicts with the infidel and heretic. And so Practical Theology will never be able to convert the world to Christ, and sanctify the Church, without ever renewing its life from the Bible fountain. The pure,

noble, and soul-satisfying truths of God's Word must so pervade our liturgy, hymnology, catechetical instruction, pastoral work and preaching, as to supply the necessities of the age, for "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" (Matt. iv. 4; Deut. viii. 3).

The history of the Church, and Christian experience, have shown that in so far as the other branches of theology have separated themselves from this fundamental discipline, and in proportion to the neglect of Exegetical Theology, the Church has fallen into a dead orthodoxy of scholasticism, has lost its hold upon the masses of mankind, so that with its foundations undermined, it has yielded but feeble resistance to the onsets of infidelity. And it has ever been that the reformation or revival has come through the resort to the sacred oracles, and the organization of a freshly-stated body of doctrine, and fresh methods of evangelization derived therefrom. We thus have reason to thank God that heresy and unbelief so often drive us to our citadel, the sacred Scriptures, and force us back to the impregnable fortress of divine truth, in order that, depending no longer merely upon human weapons and defences, we may use rather the divine. Thus we reconquer all that may have been lost through the slackness and incompetence of those who have been more anxious for the old ways than for strength of position and solid truth, and by new enterprises we advance a stage onward in our victorious progress toward the end. Our adversaries may overthrow our systems of theology, our confessions and catechisms, our church organizations and methods of work, for these are, after all, human productions, the hastily thrown up outworks of the truth; but they can never contend successfully against the Word of God that liveth and abideth

forever (1 Peter i. 23), which, though the heavens fall and the earth pass away, will not fail in one jot or tittle from the most complete fulfilment (Matt. v. 18), which will shine in new beauty and glory as its parts are one by one searchingly examined, and which will prove itself not only invincible, but all-conquering, as point after point is most hotly contested. We are assured that at last it will claim universal obedience as the pure and faultless mirror of Him who is Himself the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of His person (2 Cor. iii. 18; Heb. i. 3).

It is an important characteristic of the Reformed churches that they give the sacred Scriptures such a fundamental position in their confessions and catechisms, and lay so much stress upon the so-called *formal* principle of the Protestant Reformation. Thus in both Helvetic confessions and in the Westminster they constitute the first article,* while in the Heidelberg and Westminster catechisms they are placed at the foundation—in the former as the source of our knowledge of sin and misery and of salvation;† in the latter, as dividing the catechism into two parts, teaching “what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man”;‡ and the authority of the Word of God as “the only rule of faith and obedience,”§ has ever been maintained in our churches.

Exegetical Theology being thus, according to its idea, the fundamental theological discipline, and all-important as the fruitful source of theology, it must be thoroughly elaborated in all its parts according to exact and well-

* Niemeyer, *Collectio Confess.*, pp. 115, 467. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 1877, iii., pp. 211, 237.

† Quest. iii. xix.

‡ *Larger Catechism*, Quest. v.; *Shorter Catechism*, Quest. iii.

§ *Larger Catechism*, Quest. v.

defined scientific methods. The methods proper to Exegetical Theology are the synthetic and the historical, the relative importance of which has been contested. The importance of the historical method is so great that not a few have regarded the discipline, as a whole, as at once a primary division of Historical Theology. The examination of the Bible sources, the sacred writings, being of the same essential character as the examination of other historical documents, they should be considered simply as the sources of biblical history, and thus the writings themselves would be most appropriately treated under a history of biblical literature (Hupfeld, Reuss, Fuerst, *et al.*), and the doctrines under a history of biblical doctrine (the school of Baur).^{*} But the sacred writings are not merely sources of historical information; they are the sources of the faith to be believed and the morals to be practiced by all the world; they are of everlasting value as the sum total of sacred doctrine and law for mankind, being not only for the past, but for the present and the future, as God's Holy Word to the human race, so that their value as historical documents becomes entirely subordinate to their value as a canon of holy Scripture, the norm and rule of faith and life. Hence the synthetic method must predominate over the historical, as the proper exegetical method, and induction rule in all departments of the work; for it is the office of Exegetical Theology to gather from these sacred writings, as the storehouse of divine truth, the holy material, in order to arrange it by a process of induction and generalization into the generic forms that may best express the conceptions of the sacred Scriptures themselves.

^{*} Compare the author's articles on Biblical Theology, *American Presbyterian Review*, 1881, 122, 2d., and *Presbyterian Review*, July, 1882, p. 503, *seq.*,

From this point of view it is clear that the analytic method can have but a very subordinate place in our branch of theology. It may be necessary in the work of separating the material in the work of gathering it, but this is only in order to the synthetic process, which must ever prevail. It is owing to the improper application of the analytic method to exegesis, that such sad mistakes have been made in interpreting the Word of God, making exegesis the slave of dogmatics and tradition, when she can only thrive as the free-born daughter of truth. Her word does not yield to dogmatics, but before her voice tradition must ever give way. For exegesis cannot go to the text with preconceived opinions and dogmatic views that will constrain the text to accord with them, but rather with a living faith in the perspicuity and power of the Word of God *alone, of itself*, to persuade and convince; and with reverential fear of the voice of Him who speaks through it, which involves assurance of the truth, and submission and prompt obedience to His will. Thus, exegesis does not start from the unity to investigate the variety, but from the variety to find the unity. It does not seek the author's view and the divine doctrine through an analysis of the writing, the chapter, the verse, down to the word; but, inversely, it starts with the word and the clause, pursuing its way through the verse, paragraph, section, chapter, writing, collection of writings, the entire Bible, until the whole Word of God is displayed before the mind from the summit that has been attained after a long and arduous climbing.

Thus Exegetical Theology is a science, whose premises and materials are no less clear and tangible than those with which any other science has to do, and whose results are vastly more important than all other sciences

combined, as they concern our salvation and everlasting welfare; and if, furthermore, this material, with which we have to do, be what it claims to be—the very word of God to man,—it is clear that here alone we have a science that deals with immutable facts and infallible truths, so that our science may take its place in the circle of sciences, as the royal, yes, the divine science. But let it be remembered that this position will be accorded it by the sciences only in so far as theology as a whole is true to the spirit and character of its fundamental discipline, is open-eyed for all truth, courts investigation and criticism of its own materials and methods, and does not assume a false position of dogmatism and traditional prejudice, or attempt to tyrannize over the other sciences in their earnest researches after the truth.

Exegetical Theology being thus fundamental and important, having such thorough-going scientific methods, it must have manifold divisions and subdivisions of its work. These, in their order and mutual relation, are determined by a proper adjustment of its methods and the subordination of the historical to the inductive process. Thus at the outset there are imposed upon those who would enter upon the study of the sacred Scriptures certain primary and fundamental questions respecting the holy writings, such as: Which are the sacred writings? why do we call them sacred? whence did they originate? under what historical circumstances? who were their authors? to whom were they addressed? what was their design? are the writings that have come down to us genuine? is the text reliable? and the like. These questions may be referred to the general department of *Biblical Literature*. Then the Scriptures are to be interpreted according to correct principles and methods, with all the light that the study of centuries may

throw upon them. This is *Biblical Exegesis*. Finally, the results of this exegetical process are to be gathered into one organic whole. This is *Biblical Theology*. These then are the three grand divisions into which Exegetical Theology naturally divides itself, each in turn having its appropriate subordinate departments.

I. BIBLICAL LITERATURE has as its work to determine all those introductory questions that may arise respecting the sacred writings, preliminary to the work of exegesis. These questions are various, yet may be grouped in accordance with a general principle. But it is, first of all, necessary to limit the bounds of our department and exclude from it all that does not properly come within its sphere. Thus Hagenbach* brings into consideration here certain questions which he assigns to the auxiliary disciplines of Sacred Philology, Sacred Archæology, and Sacred Canonics. But it is difficult to see why, if these are in any essential relation to our department, they should not be logically incorporated, while if they do not stand in such close relations, why they should not be referred to their own proper departments of study. Thus Sacred Canonics clearly belongs to our discipline, whilst Sacred Archæology no less certainly belongs to the historical department; and as for Sacred Philology, it should not be classed with theology at all, for the languages of the Bible are not sacred from any inherent virtue in them, but only for the reason that they have been selected as the vehicle of divine revelation, and thus their connection with the Scriptures is providential rather than necessary. And still further, all departments of theology are in mutual relation to one another, and in a higher scale all the departments of learning act and react upon one another—such

* *Encyclopædie, 9te Aufl.*, p. 40.

as theology, philosophy, philology, and history. Hence, that one department of study is related to another does not imply that it should be made auxiliary thereto. Thus the languages of Scripture are to be studied precisely as the other languages, as a part of General Philology. The Hellenistic Greek is a dialect of the Greek language, which is itself a prominent member of the Indo-Germanic family, while the Hebrew and Chaldee are sisters with the Assyrian and Syriac, the Arabic and Ethiopic, the Phœnician and Samaritan, of the Shemitic family. The study of these languages, as languages, properly belongs to the college or university course, and has no appropriate place in the theological seminary. Valuable time is consumed in these studies that is taken from Exegetical Theology itself and never compensated for. The Shemitic languages are constantly rising into prominence, over against the Indo-Germanic family, and demand their appropriate place in the curriculum of a liberal education.* The time has fully come when philologists and theologians should unitedly insist that a place should be found for them in the college course; and that this valuable department of knowledge, upon the pursuit of which so much depends for the history of the Orient, the origin of civilization and mankind, as well as the whole subject of the three great religions of the world, should not give way to the physical sciences, which, while properly of subordinate importance as dealing mainly with material things, have already assumed an undue prominence in our institutions of learning over against philology, history, and philosophy, that deal with higher and nobler problems.†

* See *A Plea for a more thorough study of the Semitic languages in America*. By Prof. S. I. Curtis, Jr., Chicago, 1879.

† German theology has a great advantage, in that the theological student is already prepared in the gymnasium for the university with a knowledge of He-

Still further it is to be noticed, that there can henceforth be no thorough mastery of the Hebrew tongue by clinging reverently to the skirts of the Jew. We might as well expect to master the classic Latin from the language of the monks, or acquire evangelical doctrine from Rome. The cognate languages are indispensable. And it is just here that a rich treasure, prepared by divine Providence for these times, is pouring into our laps, if we will only use it. The Assyrian alone, as recently brought to light, and established in her position as one of the older sisters, is of inestimable value, not to speak of the Arabic and Syriac, the Ethiopic, Phœnician, Samaritan, and the lesser languages and dialects that the monuments are constantly revealing. Immense material is now at hand; and is still being gathered from these sources, that will considerably modify our views of the Hebrew language, and of the history and religion of the Hebrews in relation to the other peoples of the Orient. We are only beginning to learn that the Hebrew language has such a thing as a syntax, and that it is a highly organized and wonderfully flexible and beautiful tongue, the result of centuries of development. As the bands of Massoretic tradition are one after another falling off; the inner spirit and life of the language are disclosing themselves, the dry bones are clothing themselves with flesh,

brew relatively equivalent to his Greek. The Presbyterians of Scotland have advanced beyond us in this respect; by requiring an elementary knowledge of Hebrew, in order to entrance upon the theological course, at the same time providing such elementary training during the summer vacation. This is a step in which we might readily follow them. We cannot afford to wait until all the colleges follow the noble lead of the University of Virginia, Lafayette, and others, in giving their students the option of Hebrew instruction; but must use all our influence to constrain them to fulfil their duty of preparing students for the study of theology, as well as of the other professions.

and rich, warm blood is animating the frame, giving to the features nobility and beauty.* If the Church is to be renowned for its mastery of the Bible, if the symbols and the life of the Church are to harmonize, we must advance and occupy this rich and fruitful field for the Lord, and not wait for unbelievers to occupy it before us, and then be compelled to contend at a disadvantage, they having the prestige of knowledge and success.

While, therefore, we exclude the study of the Hebrew and cognate languages from the range of Exegetical Theology, we magnify their importance, not only to the theological student, but also to the entire field of scholarship. Other scholars may do without them, but for the theologian these studies are indispensable, and we must at the very beginning strain all our energies to the mastery of the Hebrew tongue. If it has not been done before entering the seminaries, it must be done in the seminaries, and those who have no seminary or college advantages must use the best helps they can find.†

Having excluded Sacred Philology from Exegetical Theology and from Biblical Literature, we now have to define more closely the proper field of Biblical Literature. Biblical literature has to do with all questions

* It is exceedingly gratifying that our American students are eagerly entering upon these studies. The large classes in the cognate languages, in our seminaries promise great things for the future in this regard. The classes in the Cognates in Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1882-3, were, in Arabic, 10; in Assyrian, Junior and Senior, 10; in Chaldee, 23; in Syriac, 9. The Cognates are taught in many seminaries, such as Andover, Yale, Lane, Princeton, Auburn, Western, Northwestern.

† Favorable opportunities are now afforded for the study of Hebrew by Prof. William R. Harper, Ph.D., of the Theological Seminary at Morgan Park, Chicago. He conducts with ability, enthusiasm, and success a Hebrew Correspondence school of several classes and also a Hebrew Summer school. Several hundred ministers and laymen have already been trained in them.

respecting the sacred Scriptures that may be necessary to prepare the way of Biblical Exegesis. Looking at the sacred Scriptures as the sources to be investigated, we see three fields of inquiry presenting themselves: the collection or canon, the text, and the individual writings; or, in more detail, the three groups of questions: 1. As to the idea, extent, character, and authority of the *canon*, collected as the sacred Scriptures of the church. 2. As to the *text* of which the canon is composed, the MSS. in which it is preserved, the translations of it, and citations from it. 3. As to the origin, authorship, time of composition, character, design, and direction of the *individual writings* that claim, or are claimed, to belong to the sacred Scriptures. These subordinate branches of Biblical Literature may be called Biblical Canonics, the Lower or Textual Criticism, and the Higher Criticism.

1. *Biblical Canonics* considers the *canon* of sacred Scripture as to its idea, its historical formation, its extent, character, authority, and historical influence. These inquiries are to be made in accordance with the historical and synthetic methods. We are not to start with preconceived dogmatic views as to the idea of the canon, but derive this idea by induction from the sacred writings themselves; and in the same manner decide all other questions that may arise. Thus the extent of the canon is not to be determined by the consensus of the churches,* or by the citation and reverent use of them in the fathers, and their recognition by the earliest standard authorities,† for these historical evidences, so

* Indeed, they do not agree with reference to its extent whether it includes the Apocryphal books or not, and, still further, they differ in the matter of distinguishing within the canon, between writings of primary and secondary authority.

† These, indeed, are not entirely agreed, and if they were, could only give us a human and fallible authority.

important in Historical Theology, have no value in Exegetical Theology, as they had no influence in the formation of the canon itself; nor, indeed, by their accord with orthodoxy or the rule of faith,* for it is not only too broad, in that other writings than sacred are orthodox, but again too narrow, in that the standard is the shifting one of subjective opinion, or external human authority, which, indeed, presupposes the canon itself as an object of criticism; and all these external reasons, historical and dogmatic, after all, can have but a provisional and temporary authority—but the only authoritative and final decision of these questions is from the internal marks and characteristics of the Scriptures, their recognition of one another, their harmony with the idea, character, and development of a divine revelation, as it is derived from the Scriptures themselves, as well as their own well-tested and critically-examined claims to inspiration and authority, and, above all, the divine authority speaking by and with them. These reasons, and these alone, gave them their historical position and authority as a canon. And it is only on this basis that the historical and dogmatic questions may be properly considered, with respect to their recognition by Jew and Christian, and their authority in the church. The writings having thus been considered collectively, we are prepared for the second step, the examination of the text itself.

2. *Textual Criticism* considers the text of the sacred Scriptures both as a whole and in detail. The sacred writings have shared the fate of all human productions in their transmission from hand to hand, and in the

* It was in accordance with this subjective standard that Luther rejected the epistle of James, and Bæthar. Comp. Dörner, *Gesch. der Protest. Theologie*, 1868, p. 234, seq.

multiplication of copies. Hence, through the mistakes of copyists, the intentional corruption of the heretic, and supposed improvement of the over-anxious orthodox, the MSS. that have been preserved betray differences of reading. This department has a wide field of investigation. First of all, the peculiarities of the Bible language must be studied, and the idiomatic individualities of the respective authors. Then the age of the various MSS. must be determined, their peculiarities, and relative importance. The ancient versions now come into the field, especially the Septuagint, the Chaldee and Samaritan Targums, the Syriac Peshitto, and the Vulgate, which again, each in turn, has to go through the same sifting as to the critical value of its own text. Here, especially in the Old Testament, we go back of any MSS. and are brought face to face with differences that can be accounted for only on the supposition of original MSS., whose peculiarities have been lost. To these may be added the citations of the original text in the Talmud and Christian scholars. Then we have the still more difficult comparison of parallel passages, where differences of text show a difference in MSS. reaching far back of any historical MSS., or even version.* Textual Criticism has to meet all these difficulties and answer all these questions, and harmonize and adjust all these differences, in order that, so far as possible, the genuine, original, pure, and uncorrupted text of the Word of God may be gained, as it proceeded directly from the original authors to the original readers. This

* Comp. Psalm xiv. with Psalm liii.; Psalm xviii. with 2 Samuel xxii., and the books of Samuel and Kings on one hand, with the books of the Chronicles on the other, and, indeed, throughout. Compare also the Canonical books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, with the Apocryphal additions and supplements in the Septuagint version, and finally the citation of earlier writings in the later ones, especially in the New Testament.

department of study is all the more difficult for the Old Testament, that the field is so immense, the writings so numerous, various, and ancient, the languages so little understood in their historical peculiarities, and, still further, in that we have to overcome the prejudices of the Massoretic system, which, while faithful and reliable so far as the knowledge of the times went, yet, as resting simply on tradition, without critical or historical investigation, and without any proper conception of the general principles of grammar and comparative philology, cannot be accepted as final ; for the time has long since passed when the vowel points and accents can be deemed inspired. We have to go back of them, to the unpointed text, for all purposes of criticism.

3. *The Higher Criticism* is distinguished from the Lower or Textual Criticism by presupposing the text and dealing with individual writings and groups of writings. The parts of writings should be first investigated, the individual writings before the collected ones. With reference to each writing, or, it may be, part of a writing, we have to determine the historical origin and authorship, the original readers, the design and character of the composition, and its relation to other writings of its group. These questions must be settled partly by *external historical* evidence, but chiefly by *internal* evidence, such as the language, style of composition, archæological and historical traces, the conceptions of the author respecting the various subjects of human thought, and the like. Now with reference to such questions as these, we have little to do with traditional views or dogmatic opinions. Whatever may have been the prevailing views in the church with reference to the Pentateuch, Psalter, or any other book of Scripture, they will not deter the conscientious exegete from accepting and teaching the re-

sults of a historical and critical study of the writings themselves.

It is just here that Christian theologians have greatly injured the cause of the truth and the Bible by dogmatizing in a department where it is least of all appropriate, and, indeed, to the highest degree improper, as if our faith depended at all upon these human opinions respecting the Word of God; as if the Scriptures could be benefited by defending the indefensible, whereas by frequent and shameful defeats and routs traditionalists bring disgrace and alarm even into the impregnable fortress itself, and prejudice the sincere inquirer against the Scriptures, as if these were questions of orthodoxy or piety, or of allegiance to the Word of God or the symbols of the church. The Westminster standards teach that "the word of God is the only rule of faith and obedience,"* and that "the authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God, the author thereof."† The other Protestant symbols are in accord with them. How unorthodox it is, therefore, to set up another rule of prevalent opinion as a stumbling-block to those who would accept the authority of the Word of God alone. So long as the Word of God is honored, and its decisions regarded as final, what matters it if a certain book be detached from the name of one holy man and ascribed to another, or classed among those with unknown authors? Are the laws of the Pentateuch any less divine, if it should be proved that they are the product of the experience of God's people from Moses to Josiah?‡ Is the Psalter to

* *Larger Catechism*, Quest. iii.

† *Confess. of Faith*, Chap. I. 4.

‡ *British and Foreign Evang. Review*, July, 1868, Art. "The Progress of Old Testament Studies."

be esteemed any the less precious that the psalms should be regarded as the product of many poets singing through many centuries the sacred melodies of God-fearing souls, responding from their hearts, as from a thousand-stringed lyre, to the touch of the Holy One of Israel? Is the book of Job less majestic and sublime, as, the noblest monument of sacred poetry, it stands before us in its solitariness, with unknown author, unknown birthplace, and from an unknown period of history? Are the ethical teachings of the Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, any the less solemn and weighty, that they may not be the product of Solomon's wisdom alone, but of the reflection of many holy wise men of different epochs, gathered about Solomon as their head? Is the epistle to the Hebrews any less valuable for its clear presentation of the fulfilment of the Old Testament priesthood and sacrifice in the work of Christ, that it must be detached from the name of Paul? Let us not be so presumptuous, so irreverent to the Word of God, so unbelieving with reference to its inherent power of convincing and assuring the seekers for the truth, as to condemn any sincere and candid inquirer as a heretic or a rationalist, because he may differ from us on such questions as these! The internal evidence must be decisive in all questions of Biblical Criticism, and the truth, whatever it may be, will be most in accordance with God's Word and for the glory of God and the interest of the church.*

Thus Biblical Literature gives us all that can be learned respecting the canon of Holy Scripture, its text and the

* The whole of this paragraph was written and delivered before the outbreak of the Robertson Smith controversy in Scotland and the discussions respecting the Higher Criticism in the United States. These controversies emphasize the importance and the correctness of the principles we then stated. We shall come upon them again in Chapter VII., which is devoted to the subject.

various writings; and presents the sacred Scriptures as the holy Word of God, all the errors and improvements of men having been eliminated, in a text, so far as possible, as it came from holy men who "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Peter i. 21); so that we are brought into the closest possible relations with the living God through His Word, having in our hands the *very form* that contains the *very substance* of divine revelation; so that with reverence and submission to His will we may enter upon the work of interpretation, confidently expecting to be assured of the truth in the work of Biblical Exegesis.

II. BIBLICAL EXEGESIS. And now first of all we have to lay down certain general principles derived from the study of the Word of God, upon which this exegesis itself is to be conducted. These principles must accord with the proper methods of Exegetical Theology and the nature of the work to be done. The work of establishing these principles belongs to the introductory department of *Biblical Hermeneutics*. The Scriptures are human productions, and yet truly divine. They must be interpreted as other human writings, and yet their peculiarities and differences from other human writings must be recognized,* especially the supreme determining difference of their inspiration by the Spirit of God, in accordance with which they require not only a sympathy with the human element in the sound judgment and practical sense of the grammarian, the critical investigation of the historian, and the æsthetic taste of the man of letters; but also a sympathy with the divine element, an inquiring, reverent spirit to be enlightened by the Spirit of God, without which no exposition of the Script-

* Comp. Immer, *Hermeneutik der N. T.*, p. 3.

ures as sacred, inspired writings is possible. It is this feature that distinguishes the discipline from the other corresponding ones, as *Sacred Hermeneutics*. Thus we have to take into the account the inspiration of the Scriptures, their harmony, their unity in variety, their sweet simplicity, and their sublime mystery; and all this not to override the principles of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but to supplement them; yes, rather, infuse into them a new life and vigor, making them sacred grammar, sacred logic, and sacred rhetoric. And just here it is highly important that the *history of exegesis* should come into the field of study in order to show us the abuses of false principles of interpretation as a warning; and the advantages of correct principles as an encouragement.*

After this preliminary labor, the exegete is prepared for his work in detail. The immensity of these details is at once overpowering and discouraging. The extent, the richness, the variety of the sacred writings, poetry, history, and prophecy, extending through so many centuries, and from such a great number of authors, known and unknown, the inherent difficulty of interpreting the sacred mysteries, the things of God—who is sufficient for these things? who would venture upon this holy ground without a quick sense of his incapacity to grasp the divine ideas, and an absolute dependence upon the Holy Spirit to show them unto him? (John xvi. 15). Truly, here is a work for multitudes, for ages, for the most profound and devout study of all mankind, for here we have to do with the whole word of God to man. The exegete is like the miner. He must free himself as

* Compare especially Diestel, *Gesch. d. A. T. in der Christ. Kirche*. Jena, 1869.

far as possible from all traditionalism and dogmatic prejudice, must leave the haunts of human opinion, and bury himself in the Word of God. He must descend beneath the surface of the Word into its depths. The letter must be broken through to get at the precious idea. The dry rubbish of misconception must be thrown out, and a shaft forced through every obstacle to get at the truth. And while faithful in the employment of all these powers of the human intellect and will, the true exegete fears the Lord, and only thereby hopes through his intimacy with Him for the revelation of wisdom.*

1. The exegete begins his work with *Grammatical Exegesis*. Here he has to do with the *form*, the dress of the revelation, which is not to be disregarded or undervalued, for it is the form in which God has chosen to convey His truth, the dress in which alone we can approach her and know her. Hebrew grammar must therefore be mastered in its etymology and syntax, or grammatical exegesis will be impossible. Here patience, exactness, sound judgment, and keen discernment are required, for every word is to be examined by itself, etymologically and historically, not etymologically alone, for Greek and Hebrew roots have not infrequently been made to teach very false doctrines. It has been forgotten that a word is a living thing, and has, besides its root, the still more important stem, branches, and products—indeed, a history of meanings. The word is then to be considered in its syntactical relations in the clause, and thus step by step the *grammatical sense* is to be ascertained, the false interpretations eliminated, and the various possible meanings correctly presented and classified. Without this patient study of words and clauses

* Job xxviii. 28; Ps. xlv. 14; Prov. viii. 17, seq.

no accurate translation is possible, no trustworthy exposition can be made.* It is true that grammatical exegesis leaves us in doubt between many possible constructions of the sense, but these doubts will be solved as the work of exegesis goes on, and then, on the other hand, it eliminates many views as ungrammatical which have been hastily formed, and effectually prevents that jumping at conclusions to which the indolent and impetuous are alike inclined.

2. The second step in exegesis is *Logical and Rhetorical Exegesis*. The words and clauses must be interpreted in accordance with the context, the development of the author's thought and purpose; and also in accordance with the principles of rhetoric, discriminating plain language from figurative, poetry from prose, history from prophecy, and the various kinds of history, poetry, and prophecy from each other. This is to be done not after an arbitrary manner, but in accordance with the general laws of logic and rhetoric that apply to all writings whatever. While the use of figurative language has led the mystic and the dogmatist to employ the most arbitrary and senseless exegesis, yet the laws of logic and rhetoric, correctly applied to the text: will clip the wings of the fanciful, and destroy the assumptions of the dogmatist, and, still further, will serve to determine many questions that grammar alone cannot decide, and, hence, more narrowly define the meaning of the text.

3. The third step in exegesis is *Historical Exegesis*. The author must be interpreted in accordance with his

* Yes, we may say that no translation can be thoroughly understood after the generation in which it was made, without this resort to the original text, which alone can determine in many cases the meaning of the translators themselves, when we come upon obsolete terms, or words whose meanings have become modified or lost.

historical surroundings. We must apply to the text the knowledge of the author's times, derived from archæology, geography, chronology, and general history. Thus only will we be able to enter upon the *scenery* of the text. It is not necessary to resort to the history of exegesis; one's own observation is sufficient to show the absurdities and the outrageous errors into which a neglect of this principle leads many earnest but ignorant men. No one can present the Bible narrative in the dress of modern every-day life without making the story ridiculous. And it must be so from the very nature of the case. Historical circumstances are essential to the truthfulness and vividness of the narrative. Instead of our transporting Scripture events to our scenery, we must transport ourselves to their scenery, if we would correctly understand them and realize them. If we wish to apply Scripture truth we may, after having correctly apprehended it, eliminate it from its historical circumstances, and then give it a new and appropriate form for practical purposes; but we can never interpret Scripture without historical exegesis; for it serves to more narrowly define the meaning of the text, and to eliminate the unhistorical materials from the results thus far attained in the exegetical process.

4. The fourth step in exegesis is *Comparative Exegesis*. The results already gained with reference to any particular passage are to be compared with the results attained in a like manner in other similar passages of the same author, or other authors of the period, and in some cases from other periods of divine revelation. Thus, by a comparison of scripture with scripture, additional light will be thrown upon the passage, the true conception will be distinguished from the false, and the results attained adequately supported.

5. The fifth step in exegesis is one of vast importance which, for lack of a better name, may be called *Literary Exegesis*. Great light is thrown upon the text by the study of the views of those who, through the centuries, in many lands, and from the various points of view, have studied the Scriptures. Here on this battleground of interpretation we see almost every view assailed and defended. Multitudes of opinions have been overthrown, never to reappear; others are weak and tottering—comparatively few still maintain the field. It is among these latter that we must in the main find the true interpretation. This is the *furnace* into which the results thus far attained by the exegete must be thrown, that its fires may separate the dross and leave the pure gold thoroughly refined. Christian divines, Jewish rabbins, and even unbelieving writers have not studied the Word of God for so many centuries in vain. No true scholar can be so presumptuous as to neglect their labors. No interpreter can rightly claim originality or freshness of conception who has not familiarized himself with this *mass* of material that others have wrought out. On the other hand, it is the best check to presumption, to know that every view that is worth anything must pass through the furnace. Any exegete who would accomplish anything should know that he is to expose himself to the fire that centres upon any combatant that will enter upon this hotly-contested field. From the study of the Scriptures he will come into contact with human views, traditional opinions, and dogmatic prejudices. On the one side these will severely criticize and overthrow many of his results; on the other his faithful study of the Word of God will be a fresh test of the correctness of those human views that have hitherto prevailed. Thus, from the

acting and reacting influences of this conflict, the truth of God will maintain itself, and it alone will prevail.

We have thus far described these various steps of exegesis, in order that a clear and definite conception may be formed of its field of work—not that they are ever to be represented by themselves in any commentary, or even carried on independently by the exegete himself, but they should be regarded as the component parts of any thorough exegetical process; and although, as a rule, naught but the results are to be presented to the public, yet these results imply that no part of the process has been neglected, but that all have harmonized in them, if they are reliable results.

In advancing now to the higher processes of exegesis, we observe a marked difference from the previous ones, in that they have had to do with the entire text, these with only select portions of it. And still further we would remark, that while in these processes the results are to be attained which will be most profitable to the great masses of mankind, we must severely criticize those who, without having gone through them themselves, either use the labors of the faithful exegete without acknowledgment, or else, accepting traditional views without examination, build on an unknown foundation; for the world does not need theological castles in the air, or theories of Christian life, but a solid structure of divine truth as the home of the soul, and an infallible guide for living and dying.

6. The sixth step in exegesis is *Doctrinal Exegesis*, which considers the material thus far gathered in order to derive therefrom the ideas of the author respecting religion, faith, and morals. These ideas are then to be considered in their relation to each other in the section and chapter. Thus we get the doctrine that the author

would teach, and are prepared for a comparison of it with the doctrines of other passages and authors. Here we have to contend with a false method of searching for the so-called *spiritual sense*, as if the doctrine could be independent of the form in which it is revealed, or, indeed, so loosely attached to it, that the grammar and logic should teach one thing, and the spiritual sense another. There can be no spiritual sense that does not accord with the results thus far attained in the exegetical process. The true spiritual sense comes before the inquiring soul as the product of the true exegetical methods that have been described. As the differences of material become manifest in the handling of it, the doctrine stands forth as divine and infallible in its own light. Any other spiritual sense is false to the Word of God, whether it be the conceit of Jewish cabalists or Christian mystics.

7. The seventh and final effort of exegesis is *Practical Exegesis*, the application of the text to the faith and life of the present. And here we must eliminate not only the temporal bearings from the eternal, but also those elements that apply to other persons and circumstances than those in hand. Everything depends upon the character of the work, whether it be catechetical, homiletical, evangelistic, or pastoral. *All* Scripture may be said to be practical for *some* purpose, but not every Scripture for *every* purpose. Hence, practical exegesis must not only give the true meaning of the text, but also the true application of the text to the matter in hand. Here we have to deal with a false method of seeking edification and deriving pious reflections from every passage, thus constraining the text to meanings that it cannot bear, doing violence to the Word of God, which is not only not to be added to or taken from as a whole, but also as

to all its parts. This spirit of interpretation, while nominally most reverential, is really very irreverential. It originates from a lack of knowledge of the Scriptures, and the neglect to use the proper methods of exegesis, as if the Holy Spirit would reveal the sacred mysteries to the indolent, even if they should be pious; for while He may hide the truth from the irreverent critic, He cannot be expected to reveal it except to those who not only have piety, but also search for it as for hidden treasures. This indolence and presumptuous reliance upon the Holy Spirit, which too often proves to be a dependence upon one's own conceits and fancies, has brought disgrace upon the Word of God, as if it could be manifold in sense, or were able to prove anything that might be asked of it. Nay, still worse, it leads the preacher to burden his discourse with material which, however good it may be in itself, not only has no connection with the text, but no practical application to the circumstances of the hour, or the needs of the congregation. Over against this abuse of the Scriptures, the exegete learns to use it properly, and while he cannot find everywhere what he needs, yet he can find by searching for it, far more and better than he needs; yes, he will learn, as he studies the Word, that it needs no forcing, but aptly and exactly satisfies with appropriate material every phase of Christian experience, gently clears away every shadow of difficulty that may disturb the inquiring spirit, proving itself sufficient for each and every one, and ample for all mankind.

We have endeavored to consider the various processes of exegesis by which results are attained of essential importance to all the other departments of theology. The work of the exegete is foundation work. It is the work of the study, and not of the pulpit, or

the platform. It brings forth treasures new and old from the Word of God, to enrich the more prominent and public branches of theology. It finds the nugget of gold that they are to coin into the current conceptions of the times. It brings forth ore that they are to work into the vessels or ornaments, that may minister comfort to the household and adorn the home and the person. It gains the precious gems that are to be set by these jewelers, in order that their lustre and beauty may become manifest and admired of all. Some think it strange that the Word of God does not at once reveal a *system of theology*, or give us a *confession of faith*, or *catechism*. But Archbishop Whately correctly explains it when he says that,

"Since no one of the first promulgators of Christianity did that which they must, some of them at least, have been *naturally* led to do, it follows that they must have been *supernaturally* withheld from it." "Each Church, therefore, was left through the wise foresight of Him who alone 'knew what is in man,' to provide for its own wants as they should arise;—to steer its own course by the chart and compass which His holy word supplies, regulating for itself the sails and rudder according to the winds and currents it may meet with." *

Indeed experience shows us that no body of divinity can answer more than its generation. Every catechism and confession of faith will in time become obsolete and powerless, remaining as historical monuments and symbols, as the worn and tattered banners that our veterans or honored sires have carried victoriously through the campaigns of the past—but not suited entirely for their descendants. Each age has its own peculiar work and needs, and it is not too much to say, that not even the

* *Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*. Fifth edition, London, 1846. Essay vi., pp. 349, 355.

Bible could devote itself to the entire satisfaction of the wants of any particular age, without thereby sacrificing its value as the book of all ages. It is sufficient that the Bible gives us the *material* for all ages, and leaves to man the noble task of shaping that material so as to suit the wants of his own time. The word of God is given to us in the Bible, as His truth is displayed in physical nature—in an immense and varied storehouse of material. We must search the Bible in order to find what we require for our soul's food, not expecting to employ the whole, but recognizing that as there is enough for us, so there is sufficient for all mankind and for all ages. Its diversities are appropriate to the various types of human character, the various phases of human experience, and no race, no generation, no man, woman, or child, need fail in finding in the Scriptures the true soul-food, for it has material of abounding wealth, surpassing all the powers of human thought and all the requirements of human life.

III. The work of Exegetical Theology does not end however, with the work of Biblical Exegesis, but advances to its conclusion in BIBLICAL THEOLOGY. Exegetical Theology not only, in the department of Biblical Exegesis, produces the material to be used in the other department of theology, but it has as its own highest problem, the thorough arrangement of that material in accordance with its own synthetic method. As there is a history in the Bible, an unfolding of divine revelation, a unity, and a wonderful variety, so Exegetical Theology cannot stop until it has arranged the biblical material in accordance with its historical position, and its relative value in the one structure of divine revelation. And here, first, we see the culmination of the exegetical proc-

ess, as all its departments pour their treasures into this basin, where they flow together and become compacted into one organic whole—for Biblical Theology rises from the exegesis of verses, sections, and chapters, to the higher exegesis of writings, authors, periods, and of the Old and New Testaments as wholes, until the Bible is discerned as an organism, complete and symmetrical, *one* as God is one, and yet as *various* as mankind is various, and thus only divine-human as the complete revelation of the God-man.

In this respect Biblical Theology demands its place in theological study as the highest attainment of exegesis. It is true that it has been claimed that the history of Biblical Doctrine, as a subordinate branch of Historical Theology, fully answers its purpose; and again, that Biblical Dogmatics, as the fundamental part of Systematic Theology, covers its ground. These branches of the sister grand divisions of theology deal with many of its questions and handle much of its material, for the reason that Biblical Theology is the highest point of exegesis where the most suitable transition is made to the other departments; but it does not, it cannot, belong to either of them. As Biblical Theology was not the product of Historical or Systematic Theology, but was born in the throes of the exegetical process of the last century, so it is the child of exegesis, and can flourish only in its own home. The idea, methods, aims, and, indeed, results, are entirely different from those presented in the above-mentioned parts of Historical and Systematic Theology. It does not give us a *history* of doctrine, although it uses the historical method in the unfolding of the doctrine. It does not seek the history of the doctrine, but the formation, the organization of the doctrine

in history. It does not aim to present the systematic theology of the Bible, and thus arrange biblical doctrine in the form that Systematic Theology must assume for the purposes of the day; but in accordance with its synthetic method of seeking the unity in the variety, it endeavors to show the *biblical system* of doctrine, the form assumed by theology in the Bible itself, the organization of the doctrines of faith and morals in the historical divine revelation. It thus considers the doctrine at its first historical appearance, examines its formation and its relation to others in the structure, then traces its unfolding in history, sees it evolving by its own inherent vitality, as well as receiving constant accretions, ever assuming fuller, richer, grander proportions, until in the revelation of the New Testament the organization has become complete and finished. It thus not only distinguishes a theology of periods, but a theology of authors and writings, and shows how they harmonize in the *one* complete revelation of God.* It is only from this elevated point of view that many important questions can be settled, such as the *Relation of the Old Testament to the New Testament*—a fundamental question for all departments of theology. It is only when we recognize the New Testament as not only the historical fulfilment of the Old Testament, but also as its exegetical completion, that the unity and the harmony, all the grander for the variety and the diversity of the Scriptures, become evident. It is only from this point of view that the apparently contradictory views, as, for instance, of Paul and James, in the article of justifica-

* See author's articles on Biblical Theology, in *American Presbyterian Review*, 1870, and in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1882, and Chapter XL of this volume.

tion, may be reconciled in their difference of types. It is only here that a true doctrine of inspiration can be given, properly distinguishing the divine and human elements, and yet recognizing them in their union. It is only thereby that the weight of authority of the Scripture can be fully felt, and the consistency of the infallible canon invincibly maintained. It is only in this culminating work that the preliminary processes of exegesis are delivered from all the imperfections and errors that still cling to the most faithful work of the exegete. It is only from these hands that Historical Theology receives its true keys, Systematic Theology its indestructible pillars, and Practical Theology its all-conquering weapons.

Thus Exegetical Theology is a theological discipline, which, in its various departments, presents an inexhaustible field of labor, where the most ambitious may work with a sure prospect of success, and where the faithful disciple of the Lord may rejoice in the most intimate fellowship with the Master, divine truths being received immediately from the divine hand, old truths being illuminated with fresh meaning, new truths filling the soul with indescribable delight. The Bible is not a field whose treasures have been exhausted, for they are inexhaustible. As in the past, holy men have found among these treasures jewels of priceless value; as Athanasius, Augustine, Anselm, Luther, and Calvin, have derived therefrom *new* doctrines that have given shape not only to the church, but to the world; so it is not too much to expect that even greater saints than these may yet go forth from their retirement, where they have been *alone* in communion with God through His Word, holding up before the world some *new* doctrine, freshly de-

rived from the ancient writings, which, although hitherto overlooked, will prove to be the necessary complement of all the previous knowledge of the church, no less essential to its life, growth, and progress than the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, the Augustinian doctrine of sin, and the Protestant doctrine of justification through faith.

CHAPTER III.

THE LANGUAGES OF THE BIBLE.

THE languages of the Bible were prepared by Divine Providence as the most suitable ones for declaring the divine revelation to mankind. Belonging, as they do, to the two great families of speech, the Shemitic and the Indo-Germanic, which have been the bearers of civilization, culture, and the noblest products of human thought and emotion, they are themselves the highest and most perfect developments of those families; presenting, it is true, their contrasted features, but yet combining in a higher unity, in order to give us the complete divine revelation. Having accomplished this their highest purpose, they soon afterward became stereotyped in form, or, as they are commonly called, dead languages; so that henceforth all successive generations, and indeed all the families of earth, might resort to them and find the common, divine revelation in the *same fixed and unalterable forms*.

Language is the product of the human soul, as are thought and emotion, and, therefore, depends upon the constitution of that soul, the historical experiences of the family or race speaking it, especially the stage of development in civilization, morals, and religion. The connection between language and thought is not loose, but an *essential* connection. Language is not merely a

dress that thought may put on or off at its pleasure ; it is the body of which thought is the soul ; it is the flesh and rounded form of which thought is the life and energy. Hence it is that language is moulded by thought and emotion, by experience and culture ; it is, as it were, the speaking face of the race employing it, and it becomes the historical monument of the experience of that race ; so that in many nations that have perished, and whose early history is lost in primeval darkness, their language gives us the key to their history and experience as truly as the Parthenon tells us of the Greek mind, and the Pyramids of the Egyptian.

It is not a matter of indifference, therefore, as to the languages that were to bear the divine revelation ; for, although the divine revelation was designed for all races, and may be conveyed in all the languages of earth, yet, inasmuch as it was delivered in advancing historical development, certain particular languages must be employed as most suitable for the purpose, and indeed those which could best become the fountains for enriching the various languages of the earth. Hence it is that we can confidently claim that there are no languages—not even the English and the German, which have drunk deepest from the classic springs of the Hebrew and the Greek—that there are no languages that could so adequately convey the divine revelation in its simplicity, grandeur, fulness, variety, power and impressiveness, as those selected by Divine Providence for the purpose.

Hence it is that no translation can ever take the place of the *original Scriptures* ; for a translation is, at the best, the work of uninspired men, who, though holy and faithful, and guided by the Spirit of God, are yet unable to do more than give us their own interpretation

of the sacred oracles. They must enter into the very spirit and atmosphere of the original text; they must think and feel with the original authors; their hearts must throb with the same emotion; their minds must move in the same lines of thinking; they must adapt themselves to the numerous types of character coming from various and widely different periods of divine revelation, in order to correctly apprehend the thought and make it their own, and then reproduce it in a foreign tongue. A mere external, grammatical, and lexicographical translation is worthless. Unless the spirit of the original has been not only apprehended, but conveyed, it is no real translation. Hence it is requisite that all-sided men should be chosen for this work, or at least a body of men representing the various types and phases of human experience and character. But even then the translation can only express the theological, ethical, and practical conceptions of the holiest and most learned men of the particular age; and, inasmuch as the divine revelation was given through holy men who spake not only from their own time and for their own time, but from and for the timeless Spirit, the eternal ideas for all time; the advancing generations will ever need to understand the Word of God better than their fathers, and must, if they are faithful, continually improve in their knowledge of the original Scriptures, in their power of apprehending them, of appropriating them, and of reproducing them in speech and life.

How important it is, therefore, if the church is to maintain a living connection with the sacred Scriptures, and enter ever deeper into their spirit and mysterious life, that it should encourage a considerable portion of its youth to pursue these studies, and at all events insist that its ministry, who are to train it in the things

of God, should have not merely a superficial knowledge of the Bible, such as any layman may readily attain, but a deep and thorough acquaintance with the original perennial fountains of truth; otherwise, as history has already sufficiently shown, these uninspired versions will assume the place of the original inspired Word; and the interpretations of a particular generation will become the stereotyped dogmas of many generations, and the life of a Christian people will be cut off from its only source of spiritual growth, and a barren scholasticism, with its stereotyped dogmas, mechanical institutions, and *opera operata*, will assume the place and importance of the divine word and living communion with God.

The languages of the Bible being the only adequate means of conveying and perpetuating the divine revelation, it is important that we should learn them not merely from the outside, with grammar and lexicon, but also from the inside, from a proper conception of the genius and life of these tongues as employed by the ancient saints, and especially of the historical genius of the languages as the sacred channels of the Spirit's thought and life. For language is a living thing, and has its birth, its growth, its maturity, its decline, and its death. Language is born, not as a system of roots or detached words, that gradually come together by natural selection into sentences. As plants may grow from roots after they have been cut down, but do not have their birth in roots, but in the seed-germs which contain the plants in embryo; so language, although it may be analyzed into roots, yet was not born in roots and never existed in roots, but came into being as sentences,* as thought is ever a sentence, and not a word. Then as the mind de-

* Sayce, *Principles of Comp. Philology*, p. 136, seq., 2d ed., London, 1896.

velops, thought is developed with its body, language and thus the language grows with the culture of a people. All languages that have literary documents can be traced in their historical development. Especially is this the case with the languages of the Bible; they have a long history back of them; centuries of literary development were required to produce them.

I. THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

The Hebrew language was long supposed to be the original language of mankind; but this view can no longer be held by any philologist, for the Hebrew language, as it appears to us in its earliest forms in the sacred Scriptures, bears upon its face the traces of a long-previous literary development.* This is confirmed by comparing it with the other languages of the same family. Thus the Shemitic family may be divided into four groups: 1. The Southern group—Arabic, Ethiopic, and Himjaric. 2. The Aramaic group—Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, and Mandaic. 3. The Hebrew group—the Phœnician and Hebrew. 4. The Assyrian and Babylonian. Now these languages are more closely related to one another than those of the Indo-Germanic family, the people speaking them having been confined to comparatively narrow limits, crowded on the north by the Indo-Germanic tongues, and on the south by the Turanian. These languages are grouped in sisterhoods. They all go back upon an original mother-tongue of which all traces have been lost. In general the Arabic or Southern group present the older and fuller forms of etymology and syntax, the Aramaic or Northern group

* Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 3te Ausg.; Gött., 1864, s. 78, seq.; Ewald, *Lehrb. des Heb. Sprache*, 7te Ausg.; Gött., 1863, s. 23.

the later and simpler forms. The Hebrew and Assyrian groups lie in the midst of this linguistic development, where the Assyrian is nearer to the Southern group and the Hebrew to the Northern group.* The differences in stage of linguistic growth from the common stock depend not so much upon the period or distance of separation as upon literary culture. The literary use of a language has the tendency to reduce the complex elements to order, and to simplify and wear away the superfluous and unnecessary forms of speech and syntactical construction. These languages have, for the most part, given us a considerable literature; they were spoken by cultivated nations of the ancient world, mediating between the great centres of primitive Turanian culture—the Euphrates and the Nile. Everything seems to indicate that they all emigrated from a common centre in the desert on the south of Babylonia,† the Arabic group separating first, next the Aramaic, then the Hebrew, while the Babylonian gained ultimately the mastery of the original Akkadian of Babylonia, and the Assyrian founded the great empire on the Tigris. The book of Genesis (xi. 31) represents Abram as going forth from this central seat of Ur of the Chaldees, at first northward into Mesopotamia, and then emigrating to Canaan, just as we learn from other sources the Canaanites had done before him. The monuments of Ur reveal that about this time, 2000 B.C., it was the seat of a great literary development.‡ The father of the faith-

* See Gesenius, *Heb. und Chald. Handwörterbuch*, 9te Aufl. neu bearbeitet von Müllau und Volck, Leipzig, 1883. *Von den Quellen*, p. xx., sq.

† Vide Schrader, *Die Abstammung der Chaldäer und die Ursitze der Semiten*, *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. M. G.*, 1873.

‡ Geo. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, etc., p. 29, seq. New York, 1876.

ful, whose origin was in that primitive seat of culture, and who lived as a chieftain of military prowess (Gen. xiv.) and exalted religious and moral character among the cultivated nations of Canaan, and who was received at the court of Pharaoh (xii. 14)—that other great centre of primitive culture—on friendly terms, to some extent at least, made himself acquainted with their literature and culture. Whether Abraham adopted the language of the Canaanites, or brought the Hebrew with him from the East, is unimportant, for the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian are nearer to the Hebrew and Phœnician than they are to the other Shemitic families,* so that if the languages, as now presented to us, differ less than the Romance languages—the daughters of the Latin—in their earlier stages in the time of Abraham, their difference could scarcely have been more than dialectic. The ancient Phœnician, the nearest akin to the Hebrew, was the language of commerce and intercourse between the nations in primitive times, as the Aramaic after the fall of Tyre, and the Greek after the conquest of Alexander. Thus the Hebrew language, as a dialect of the Canaanite and closely related to the Babylonian, had already a considerable literary development prior to the entrance of Abram into the Holy Land. The old idea that Egypt was the mother of Hebrew civilization and culture has been disproved; for, though the Hebrews remained a long period in Egyptian bondage, they retained their Eastern civilization, culture, and language, so that at the Exodus they shook off at once all connection with the Egyptian civilization and culture as alien and antagonistic to their own. For the very peculiarities of the Hebrew language, literature, and civilization

* Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 1, seq. London, 1892.

are those of the Babylonian. The biblical traditions of the Creation, of the Deluge, of the Tower of Babel, are those of the Assyrians and Babylonians. The sacred rest-day, with the significance of the number seven, the months, seasons, and years, the weights and measures, coins—all are of the same origin. Still further, that most striking feature of Hebrew poetry—the parallelism of members—is already in the oldest Akkadian hymns. Yes, the very temptations of the Hebrews to the worship of Ashtoreth and Baal, of Chemosh and Moloch, are those that have ruined the other branches of their common race.* How shall we account for these things unless we suppose that they were brought with him by Abram in his emigration to Canaan? Fixing our attention upon the single feature of the parallelism of members, how could the Hebrews have retained it as the essential feature of their poetry, if they had no poetic treasures preserved among them, and the poetic spirit had remained undeveloped with them? Without venturing upon an opinion with reference to the amount of literature to be attributed to these early times, but taking the Pentateuch as it is, we see therein a language admirably adapted for its purpose, the product of previous literary development. Whether Moses wrote the entire Pentateuch or not, most scholars will admit a considerable Mosaic nucleus. This being true, the principles of language seem to require either that the ancient records have been improved by later editors, or that there must have been a body of sacred literature to give the language that stable character that marks it throughout the entire sacred Scriptures; for while there is certainly a development in the Hebrew language of the

* *Vide Schrader, Semitismus und Babylonismus. Jahrb. v. Prot. Theol., 1873.*

Bible, and three periods may be readily distinguished, yet the differences between the earlier and the classic period are but slight, the chief distinguishing features being in the later writings of the Chronicler, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel, all showing a decline from the classic models and an approximation to the Aramaic, in etymology and syntax. Sacred books give languages a permanence such as no other literature can give them. This is evident not only from the German Bible of Luther, and King James' English version, which have kept these great languages comparatively stationary, but also from the Koran, which has kept the Arabic so fixed to its classic style that it has taken a thousand years for the vulgar Arabic to reach that stage of linguistic development presented in the earliest Hebrew of the Bible. Hence unless the language of the writings of Moses has been changed by later editors, at least a considerable portion of the Pentateuch must be assigned to his times. Moses is the father of the Hebrew language and literature, as Luther is of the German. He moulded its fundamental types, and started it in those directions that it has ever since maintained. As Abraham had gone forth from the culture of Babylonia to enter upon the pilgrim life of believing communion with *El Shaddai*, so Moses went forth from the culture of Egypt to become the representative of *Jahveh*, and organize a kingdom of priests, a holy nation, a theocracy the vital principles of which became reverential fear and worship of the personal God of the covenant.

Thus the Hebrew language became, in its essential spirit and genius, a *religious* language, the holy tongue of the holy people of God, and Moses laid its foundations in a literature of sacred history, poetry, and prophecy. The histories contained in the Pentateuch are the

fountain of all subsequent history. The grand hymn (Exod. xv.), the prayer (Ps. xc.), the prophetic didactic poem (Deut. xxxii.), are the great boughs of lyric poetry upon which the Psalter subsequently burst forth in all its glory; and the prophetic discourses in Deuteronomy are the sources, as they give the key to all subsequent prophecy.

Looking now at the language as religious according to its genius, and considering it in its fundamental types and their historical development, we observe the following as some of its most prominent characteristics :

1. It is remarkably *simple* and *natural*. This is indeed a common feature of the Shemitic family. As compared with the Indo-Germanic, they represent an earlier stage in the development of mankind, the childhood of the race. There is an age of perception, contemplation, and observation, not of conception, reflection, and reasoning. Things are apprehended according to their appearance as phenomena, and not according to their internal character as *noumena*. The form, the features, the expressions of things are seen and most nicely distinguished, but not their inward being; the effects are observed, but these are not traced through a series of causes, but only either to the immediate cause or else by a leap to the ultimate cause. Hence the language that expresses such thought is simple and natural. We see this in its sounds, which are simple and manifold, disliking diphthongs and compound letters; in its roots, uniformly of three consonants, generally accompanied by a vowel; in its inflections, mainly by internal modifications; in its simple arrangement of clauses in the sentence, with a limited number of conjunctions. Thus the conjunction *vav* plays a more important part in the language than all conjunctions combined, distinguishing by a simple mod

ification of vocalization, accentuation, or position, between clauses coördinate, circumstantial, or subordinate, and in the latter between those indicating purpose, or result. This is the most remarkable feature of the language, without a parallel in any other tongue. And so the poetry is constructed on the simple principle of the parallelism of members, these being synthetic, antithetic, or progressive; and in the latter case advancing, like the waves of the sea, in the most beautiful and varied forms. Hence it is that the Hebrew language is the easiest to render into a foreign tongue, and that Hebrew poetry can readily be made the common property of mankind.

2. We observe a striking correspondence of the *language to the thought*. This rests upon a radical difference between the Shemitic and Indo-Germanic family in their relative appreciation of the material and the form of language.* The form, the artistic expression, is to the Hebrew a very small affair. The idea, the thought, and emotion flow forth freely and embody themselves without any external restraint in the speech. This is clear from the method of inflection, which is mostly by internal changes in the root, expressing the passive by changing the clear vowel into the dull vowel, the intensive by doubling the second radical, the pure idea of the root by the extreme shortness of the infinitive and the segholate, the causative and the reflexive by lengthening the stem from without, and, so far as cases and moods exist, expressing them harmoniously by the three radical short vowels.

How beautiful in form, as well as sense, is the abstract plural of intensity by which *Elohim* expresses the fulness

* Vid. Grill, *über d. Verhältniss d. indogerm. u. d. semit. Sprachwurzeln* in the *Zeitschrift D. M. G.* 1873.

of the idea of God conceived as the one to be revered ; by which *chayyim* expresses the fulness of life, and which is employed in such passages as Eccles. v. 8, where the exaltation of God over all earthly judges would be represented,

“ For high over high watcheth
The *Highest* over them.”

So in the dependence of the construct relation, and the use of the suffixes. But perhaps this feature is most striking in Hebrew poetry where the absence of an artistic form is more apparent. We see that, with a general harmony of lines and strophes, the proportion in length and number is frequently broken through. And though the Hebrew poet uses the *refrain*, yet he likes to modify it, as in the lament of David over Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 19-27, the 80th Psalm, and the magnificent prophecy, Isaiah 40-66. Again, though the Hebrew poet uses the alphabet to give his lines or strophes a sort of regularity in order, using it as so many stairs up which to climb in praise, in pleading, in lamentation, and in advancing instruction, yet he by no means binds himself to an equal number of lines, or even measure of length ; and, apparently without necessity at times, breaks through his alphabet itself. Free as the ocean is the poet's emotion, rising like the waves in majestic strivings, heaving as an agitated sea, ebbing and flowing like the tide in solemn and measured antitheses, sporting like the wavelets upon a sandy beach.

3. The Hebrew language has a wonderful *majesty* and *sublimity*. This arises partly from its original religious genius, but chiefly from the sublime materials of its thought. God, the only true God, JAHVEH, the Holy Redeemer of His people, is the central theme of the

Hebrew language and literature, a God not apart from nature, and not involved in nature, no Pantheistic God, no mere Deistic God, but a God who enters into sympathetic relations with His creatures, who is recognized and praised, as well as ministered unto by the material creation. Hence there is a *realism* in the Hebrew language that can nowhere else be found to the same extent. The Hebrew people were as *realistic* as the Greek were *idealistic*. Their God is not a God thought out, reasoned out as an ultimate cause, or chief of a Pantheon, but a personal God, known by them in His association with them by a proper name, JAHVEH. Hence the so-called anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms of the Old Testament, so alien to the Indo-Germanic mind that an Occidental theology must explain them away, from an incapacity to enter into that bold and sublime realism of the Hebrews. Thus, again, man is presented to us in all his naked reality, in his weakness and sins, in his depravity and wretchedness, as well as in his bravery and beauty, his holiness and wisdom. In the Hebrew heroes we see men of like passions with ourselves, and feel that their experience is the key to the joys and sorrows of our life. So also in their conception of nature. Nature is to the Hebrew poet all aglow with the glory of God, and intimately associated with man in his origin, history, and destiny. There is no such thing as *science*; that was for the Indo-Germanic mind; but they give us that which science never gives, that which science is from its nature unable to present us: namely, those *concrete* relations, those expressive *features* of nature that declare to man their Master's mind and character, and claim human sympathy and protection as they yearn with man for the Messianic future. Now the Hebrew language manifests this realism

on its very face. Its richness in synonyms is remarkable. It is said that the Hebrew language has, relatively to the English, ten times as many roots and ten times fewer words;* and that while the Greek language has 1,800 roots to 100,000 words, the Hebrew has 2,000 roots to 10,000 words.† This wealth in synonyms is appalling to the Indo-Germanic scholar who comes to the Hebrew from the Latin and the Greek, where the synonyms are more or less accurately defined. But nothing of the kind has yet been done by any Shemitic scholar, so far as we know. What will you do with a language that has fifty-five words for *destroy*, sixty for *break*, and seventy-four for *take*?‡ It is exceedingly doubtful whether this richness of synonyms can be reduced to a system and the terms sharply and clearly defined; the differences are like those of the peculiar gutturals of the Shemitic tongues, so delicate and subtle that they can hardly be mastered by the Western tongue or ear. So these synonyms can hardly be apprehended and conveyed into languages so poor when compared with such wealth.

This wealth of synonym is connected with a corresponding richness of expression in the synonymous clauses that play such an important part in Hebrew poetry, and indeed are the reason of its wonderful richness and majesty of thought. Thus the sacred poet or prophet plays upon his theme as upon a many-stringed instrument, bringing out a great variety of tone and melody, advancing in graceful steppings or stately marchings to the climax, or dwelling upon the theme with an

* Grill, in *L. c.*

† Böttcher, *Ausf. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Sprache*, I., p. 8. Leipzig, 1866.

‡ Girdlestone, *Synonyms of the Old Test.*, p. 15. London, 1871.

inexhaustible variety of expression and coloring. The Hebrew language is like the rich and glorious verdure of Lebanon, or as the lovely face of the Shulamite, dark as the tents of Kedar, yet rich in color as the curtains of Solomon, or her graceful form, which is so rapturously described as she discloses its beauties in the dance of the hosts.* It is true that Hebrew literature is not as extensive as the Greek; it is confined to history, poetry, prophecy, and possibly romance;† but in these departments it presents the grandest productions of the human soul. Its history gives us the origin and destiny of our race, unfolds the story of redemption, dealing now with the individual, then with the family and nation, and at times widening so as to take into its field of representation the most distant nations of earth; it is a history in which God is the great actor, in which sin and holiness are the chief factors. Its poetry stirs the heart of mankind with hymns and prayers, with sentences of wisdom; and in the heroic struggles of a Job and the conquering virtue of a Shulamite, there is imparted strength to the soul and vigor to the character of man and woman transcending the influence of the godlike Achilles or the chaste Lucretia; while the second half of Isaiah presents the sublimest aspirations of man. Where shall we find such images of beauty, such wealth of illustration, such grandeur of delineation, such majestic representations? It seems as if the prophet grasped in his tremendous soul the movements of the ages, and saw the very future mirrored in the mind of God.

4. The Hebrew language is remarkable for its *life* and *fervor*. This is owing to the emotional and hearty character of the people. There is an artlessness, self-aban-

* Song of Songs, i. 5; vii. 1-7.

† See Chapters VIII. and IX.

donment, and earnestness in the Hebrew tongue; it is transparent as a glass, so that we see through it as into the very souls of the people. There is none of that reserve, that cool and calm deliberation, that self-consciousness that characterize the Greek.* The Hebrew language is distinguished by the strength of its consonants and the weakness of its vowels; so that the consonants give the word a stability of form in which the vowels have the greatest freedom of movement. The vowels circulate in the speech as the blood of the language. Hence the freedom in the varying expressions of the same root and the fervor of its full-toned forms. And if we can trust the Massoretic system of accentuation and vocalization, the inflection of the language depends upon the dislike of the recurrence of two vowelless consonants, and the law of the vocal *sheva* and the half-open syllable; and on the power of the accent over the vocalization not only of the accented syllable, but also of the entire word, and the law of the pretonic *Qāmetz*. This gives the language a wonderful flexibility and elasticity. In the Hebrew tongue the *emotions* overpower the thoughts and carry them on in the rushing stream to the expression. Hence the literature has a power over the souls of mankind. The language is as expressive of emotion as the face of a modest and untutored child, and the literature is but the speaking face of the heart of the Hebrew people. The Psalms of David touch a chord in every soul, and interpret the experience of all the world. The sentences of Solomon come to us as the home-truths, as the social and political maxims that sway our minds and direct our lives. The prophets present to us the objective omni-

* Ewald, in *l. c.*, p. 33; Böttcher, in *l. c.*, p. 9. Bertheau, in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopädie*, I., *Aufg.* Bd. v., p. 612.

tent truth, which, according to the beautiful story of Zerubbabel,* is the mightiest of all, flashing conviction like the sun and cutting to the heart as by a sharp two-edged sword. So with the history; it presents to us the simple facts of the lives of individuals and of nations in the light of the Divine countenance, speaking to our hearts and photographing upon us pictures of real life.

These are some of the most striking features of the Hebrew language, which have made it the most suitable of all to give to mankind the elementary religious truths and facts of divine revelation. The great body of the Bible, four-fifths of the sum total of God's Word, is in this tongue. It is no credit to a Christian people that the Hebrew language has no place at all in the most of our colleges and universities; that its study has been confined, for the most part, to theological seminaries and the students for the ministry. It is not strange that the Old Testament has been neglected in the pulpit, the Sabbath-school, and the family, so that many minds, even of the ministry, have doubted whether it was any longer to be regarded as the Word of God. It is not strange that Christian scholars, prejudiced by their training in the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome, should be unable to enter into the spirit, and appreciate the peculiar features of the Hebrew language and literature, and so fail to understand the elements of a divine revelation. Separating the New Testament and the words and work of Jesus and His apostles from their foundation and their historical preparation, students have not caught the true spirit of the Gospel, nor apprehended it in its unity and variety as the fulfilment of the law and the prophets. But this is not all, for

* I. Esdras iv. 33-42.

we shall now attempt to show that the other languages of the Bible, the Aramaic and the Greek, have been moulded and transformed by the theological conceptions and moral ideas that had been developing in the Hebrew Scriptures, and which, having been ripened under the potent influence of the Divine Spirit, were about to burst forth into bloom and eternal fruitfulness in these tongues prepared by Divine Providence for the purpose. The Hebrew language is, as we have seen, the language of religion, and moulded entirely by religious and moral ideas and emotions. The Greek and the Aramaic are of an entirely different character; they were not, as the Hebrew, cradled and nursed, trained from infancy to childhood, armed and equipped in their heroic youth with divine revelation, but they were moulded outside of the realm of divine revelation, and only subsequently adapted for the declaration of sacred truth. And first this was the case with the Aramaic.

II. THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE

goes back in its history to the most primitive times. It is the farthest developed of the Shemitic family, showing a decline, a decrepitude, in its poverty of forms and vocalization, in its brevity and abruptness, in its pleonasm, and in its incorporation of a multitude of foreign words. It was the language of those races of Syria and Mesopotamia that warred with the Egyptians and Assyrians, and possibly, as Gladstone suggests, took part in the Trojan war,* who, according to Sayce,† used the earliest system of writing, and were the agents through whom both the Hebrew and the Greek alphabets were

* Gladstone's *Homeric Synchronism*, N. Y., 1876, p. 173.

† The *Hamathite Inscriptions*, *Trans. Society of Bib. Archaeology*, London, 1870, p. 30.

conveyed to those peoples. At all events the Aramaic became the language of commerce and intercourse between the nations during the Persian period,* taking the place of the Phœnician, as it was in turn supplanted by the Greek. The children of Judah having been carried into captivity and violently separated from their sacred places and the scenes of their history, gradually acquired this commercial and common language of intercourse, so that ere long it became the language of the Hebrew people, the knowledge of the ancient Hebrew being confined to the learned and the higher ranks of society. Hence, even in the books of Ezra and Daniel, considerable portions were written in Aramaic. This Aramaic is called the Biblical Chaldee, to distinguish it from the Chaldee of the Targums, but really gives us an older type of the language.

The Aramaic continued to be the language of the Jews during the Persian, Greek, and Roman periods, and was the common speech of Palestine in the times of our Lord,† although it had long ceased to be the language of commerce and intercourse, the Greek having taken its place, which gradually penetrated from the commercial and official circles even to the lowest ranks of society. Thus there was a mingling of a Greek population with the Shemitic races, not only in the Greek colonies of the Decapolis and the cities of the sea-coast of Palestine, but also in the great centres of Tiberias, Samaria, and even in Jerusalem itself. Greek manners and customs were, under the influence of the Herodians and the Sadducees, pressing upon the older Aramaic and Hebrew,

* It must also have been widely spoken in the Assyrian period, as we see from II. Kings xviii. 11; see also Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo Lag das Paradies*. Leipzig, 1881, p. 258.

† Schürer, *Neutestament. Zeitgesch.*, p. 372, Leipzig, 1874.

not without the stout resistance of the Pharisees. The language of our Saviour, however, in which He delivered His discourses and instructions, was undoubtedly the Aramaic, although we could hardly deny Him the knowledge and use of the Greek. For not only do the Aramaic terms that He used, which are retained at times by the evangelists, and the proper names of His disciples, but also the very structure and style of His discourses, show the Aramaic characteristics. For our Saviour's methods of delivery and style of instruction were essentially the same as those of the rabbins of His time. Hence we should not think it strange, that from this Aramaic literature alone we can bring forward parallels to the wise sentences and moral maxims of the Sermon on the Mount, the rich and beautiful parables, by which He illustrated His discourses, and the fiery zeal of His denunciation of hypocrisy, together with the profound depths of His esoteric instruction. Our Saviour used the Aramaic language and methods, in order thereby to reach the people of His times, and place in the prepared Aramaic soil the precious seeds of heavenly truth. It is the providential significance of the Aramaic language that it thus prepared the body for the thought of our Saviour. It is a language admirably adapted by its simplicity, perspicuity, precision, and definiteness, with all its awkwardness, for the associations of every-day life. It is the language for the lawyer and the scribe, the pedagogue and the pupil; indeed, the English language of the Shemitic family.* Thus the earlier Aramaic of the Bible gives us only official documents, letters, and decrees, or else simple narrative. As moulded by the Jewish people after the return from

* Volck in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, II. Aufl. 1, p. 607.

exile, it was through the giving of the sense of the original Hebrew Scriptures (Neh. viii. 8). The whole life of the Jewish people, subsequent to the exile, was in this giving the sense of the Hebrew Scriptures, both in the *Halacha* of the rabbinical schools, and the *Haggada* of the synagogue and the social circle. It is true that the *Halacha* was developed in the rival schools of Shammai and Hillel into the most subtle questions of casuistry, and our Saviour often severely reproved the Pharisaic spirit for its subtlety and scholasticism; yet not infrequently He employed their methods to the discomfiture of His opponents,* as in Matt. xxii. 15-46, although His own spirit was rather that of the old prophets than of the scribes. The *Haggada* was developed by the rabbins into a great variety of forms of ethical wisdom and legend. This we see already in the apocryphal books of Wisdom, in the stories of Zerubbabel, of Judith, of Susanna, and of Tobit.† This latter method was the favorite one of our Saviour, as calculated for the common people, and to it we may attribute the parables, and the sweet sentences of the Sermon on the Mount, which, though after the manner of the scribes,‡ have yet a clearness and transparency as the atmosphere of the Holy Land itself, a richness and simplicity as the scarlet flower of the fields He loved so well, a calm majesty and profound mystery as the great deep, for He was the

* Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die ev. Geschichte*, p. 358, seq., Gotha, 1864.

† Zunz, *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832, pp. 42, 100, 120; Etheridge, *Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, London, 1856, p. 102, seq. Those who are interested in this subject may find a large collection of this Haggadistic literature in the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica, Eine Sammlung Alter Midraschim ins Deutsche übertragen* von Aug. Wünsche, 20 Lief. Leipzig, 1880-84.

‡ Hausrath. *Die Zeit Jesu*, Heidelberg, 1868, p. 99.

expositor of the Divine mind, heart, and being to mankind (John i. 18).

The office of the Aramaic language was still further to mediate between the old world and the new—the Hebrew and the Greek; for the *Greek language* was the chosen one to set forth the divine revelation in its completion.

III. THE GREEK LANGUAGE

was born and grew to full maturity outside of the sphere of the divine revelation, and yet was predestined “as the most beautiful, rich, and harmonious language ever spoken or written” “to form the pictures of silver in which the golden apple of the Gospel should be preserved for all generations.” *

For, as Alexander the Great broke in pieces the Oriental world-monarchies that fettered the kingdom of God, and prepared a theatre for its world-wide expansion, so did the Greek language and literature that his veterans carried with them prove more potent weapons than their swords and spears for transforming the civilization of the East and preparing a language for the universal Gospel. The Greek language is the beautiful flower, the elegant jewel, the most finished masterpiece of Indo-Germanic thought. In its early beginning we see a number of dialects spoken by a brave and warlike people, struggling with one another, as well as with external foes, maintaining themselves successfully against the Oriental and African civilizations, while at the same time they appropriated those elements of culture which they could incorporate into their own original thought and life; a race of heroes such as the earth has nowhere

* Schaaf, *Hist. of the Apostolic Church*, p. 145. New York, 1839. See also Schaaf, *History of the Christian Church*, J., p. 26. New York, 1839.

else produced, fighting their way upward into light and culture until they attained the towering summits of an art, a literature, and a philosophy, that has ever been the admiration and wonder of mankind. As Pallas sprang forth in full heroic stature from the head of her father Zeus, so Greek literature sprang into historical existence in the matchless Iliad. Its classic period was constituted by the heroism and genius of the Athenian republic, which worked even more mightily in language, literature, and art, than in the fields of politics and war, producing the histories of Thucydides and Xenophon, the tragedies of an Æschylus and Sophocles, the philosophy of a Socrates and Plato, the oratory of a Demosthenes and Æschines. Looking at the Greek language before it became the world-language, and so the language of a divine revelation, we observe that its characteristic features are in strong contrast with those of the Hebrew tongue.

1. The Greek language is *complex* and *artistic*. As the Hebrew mind perceives and contemplates, the Greek conceives and reflects. Hence the Greek etymology is elaborate in its development of forms from a few roots, in the declensions and cases of nouns, in the conjugations, tenses, and moods of the verb, giving the idea a great variety of modifications. Hence the syntax is exceedingly complex in the varied use of the conjunctions and particles, the intricate arrangement of the sentences as they may be combined into grand periods, which require the closest attention of a practiced mind to follow, in their nice discriminations and adjustments of the thought.* Hence the complex and delicate rules

* Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, Berlin, 1865, 2d Aufl., I., pp. 19, 20; *History of Greece*, New York, 1875, vol. I., pp. 20, 22.

of prosody, with the great variety of metres and rhythms. The Greek mind would wrestle with the external world, would search out and explore the reason of things, not being satisfied with the *phenomena*, but grasping for the *noumena*. Thus a rich and varied literature was developed, complex in character, the epos, the drama, the philosophical treatise, and scientific discussion, which are purely Greek, and could have little place among the Hebrews.*

2. The Greek language is characterized by its attention to the *form or style of its speech*, not to limit the freedom of the movement of thought and emotion, but to direct them in the channels of clear, definite, logical sentences, and beautiful, elegant, and artistic rhetorical figures. The Greek was a thorough artist; and as the palaces of his princes, the temples of his gods, the images of his worship, his clothing and his armor, must be perfect in form and exquisite in finished decoration, so the language, as the palace, the dress of his thought, must be symmetrical and elegant.† Hence there is no language that has such laws of euphony, involving changes in vocalization, and the transposition and mutation of letters; for their words must be musical, their clauses harmonious, their sentences and periods symmetrical. And so they are combined in the most exquisite taste in the dialogues of the philosopher, the measures of the poet, the stately periods of the historian and the orator. The sentences "are intricate, complex, involved like an ivory cabinet, till the discovery of its nominative gives you the key for unlocking the

* Donaldson, *The New Cratylus*, 3d ed., p. 153.

† Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, I., pp. 20, 21; *History of Greece*, New York, 1875 I., pp. 32-34.

mechanism and admiring the ingenuity and beauty of its rhetoric." *

3. The Greek language is thus *beautiful* and *finished*. The Greek mind was essentially *ideal*, not accepting the external world as its own, but transforming it to suit its genius and its taste. This was owing to its original humanizing genius and its central theme, man as the heroic, man as the ideally perfect.† As the language and literature of the Hebrews were inspired to describe "the righteous acts of Jahveh's dominion in Israel and the victories of his holy arm" (Judges v. 11; Psa. xcvi. 1), and thus were majestic and sublime; so the language and literature of the Greeks were to sing the exploits of the godlike Achilles, the crafty Ulysses, and the all-conquering Hercules; to paint the heroic struggles of the tribes at Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Platea, to conceive a model republic and an ideal human world, and thus were *beautiful*, *stately*, and *charming*. The gods are idealized virtues and vices and powers of nature, and conceived after the fashion of heroic men and women, arranged in a mythology which is a marvel of taste and genius. Nature is idealized, and every plant and tree and fountain becomes a living being. Indeed, everything that the Greek mind touched it clothed with its own ideals of beauty. Hence the drama is the most appropriate literature for such a people, and the dialogue the proper method of its philosophy.‡

4. The Greek language has remarkable *strength* and

* W. Adams, *Charge on occasion of the induction of Dr. Shedd as Professor of Bib. Literature*, New York, 1864, p. 10.

† Schaff, *Apostolic Church*, New York, p. 145; Zetzschwitz, *Profangräcität und biblischer Sprachgebrauch*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 13.

‡ Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, III., p. 508; *History of Greece*, New York, 1875, vol. V., pp. 169, 170.

vigor. Its stems have been compressed, vowel and consonant compacted together. Its words are complete in themselves, ending only in vowels and the consonants *n*, *r*, and *s*; they have a singular independence, as the Greek citizen and warrior, and are protected from mutilation and change.* It is true it has a limited number of roots, yet it is capable of developing therefrom an indefinite variety of words;† so that although it cannot approach the wealth of synonym of the Hebrew, yet its words are trained as the *athlete*, and capable of a great variety of movements and striking effects. Its syntax is organized on the most perfect system, all its parts compacted into a solid mass, in which the individual is not lost, but gives his strength to impart to the whole the weight and invincible push of the *phalanx*. Hence the Greek language is peculiarly the language of oratory that would sway the mind and conquer with invincible argument. It is the language of a Demosthenes, the model orator for the world. It wrestles with the mind, it parries and thrusts, it conquers as an armed host.

Such was the language with which Alexander went forth to subdue the world, and which he made the common speech of the nations for many generations. It is true that the Greek was required to forfeit somewhat of its elegance and refinement in its collision with so many barbarous tongues, but it lost none of its essential characteristics when it was adopted by the Egyptian, the Syrian, and the Jew. The Jews were scattered widely in the earth, engaged in commercial pursuits that re-

* Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, I., p. 18; *Hist. of Greece*, New York, 1875, vol. I. p. 29.

† Jelfs, *Greek Gram.*, 4th. ed., Oxford, 1864, p. 330.

quired them, above all others, to master the common speech of the nations. Hence those of Europe, Asia Minor, and Africa, easily adopted the Greek as their vernacular, and it gradually became more and more the language of Syria and Palestine. This was furthered by the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek at Alexandria, the centre of the Greek culture of the times, a translation which shows upon its face the difficulties of rendering for the first time foreign conceptions into a strange tongue,* but which nevertheless became of incalculable importance in preparing the way for the New Testament writers. The original productions of the Jews of Alexandria and Palestine, many of which are preserved in the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, combined to produce the same result. Gradually the Jewish mind was modified by the Greek thought and culture, and the Greek language was, on the other hand, adapted to the expression of Hebrew and Aramaic conceptions. The apostles of our Lord, if they were to carry on a work and exert an influence, world-wide and enduring, were required, from the very circumstances of the times, to use the Greek; for the Aramaic would have had but a narrow and ever-diminishing influence, even if their labors had been confined to the synagogues of the dispersed Jews. Hence we are not surprised that, without an exception, so far as we know, the New Testament writers composed their works in Greek, yes, even gave us the Aramaic discourses of our Saviour in the Greek tongue. Nor was this without its providential purpose; for though our Saviour delivered His discourses in Aramaic, yet they were not taken

* Reuss, *Hellenistisches Idiom*, in Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*, I. Aufl., p. 709, II., Aufl. p. 745.

down by the evangelists as they heard them in that tongue, but were subsequently recalled to their minds by the Holy Spirit, who, in accordance with the promise of our Lord, brought all things to their remembrance (John xiv. 26); so that they recalled the ideas, rather than the language, and gave the ideas, therefore, the Greek embodiment; and so we have no translation of the words of Jesus, but the words of Jesus as they passed through the Hellenistic conception of the evangelists, colored by their minds and human characteristics;* for it was evidently the design of God that the Saviour's words, as well as acts and His glorious person, should be presented to the world through those four typical evangelists, who appropriately represent the four chief phases of human character and experience.

The New Testament writers used the common Greek of their time, yet as men who had been trained in the Hebrew Scriptures and in the Aramaic methods of exposition, but above all as holy men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. Hence, as the Greek language had now to perform a work for which it had providentially been preparing, and yet one which it had never yet attempted, namely, to convey the divine revelation to mankind, so it must be remoulded and shaped by the mind of the Spirit to express ideas that were new both to the Greek and the Jew, but which had been developing in the languages and literatures of both nations, for each in its way prepared for the Gospel of Christ.† Hence we are not surprised that the biblical Greek should be distinguished not only from the classic

* Winer, *New Test. Gram.*, Thayer's edit., Andover, 1872, p. 27; Bleek's *Einleit. in d. N. T.*, 2d Aufl., Berlin, 1866, p. 76; Edin., 1869, p. 72, *seq.*

† Schaff, *Apostolic Church*, p. 146; also Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, I., p. 76, *seq.*

models, but also from the literary Greek of the time although when compared with the Greek of the Septuagint and the Apocrypha, it approximates more to the literary Greek, being "not the slavish idiom of a translation, but a free, language-creating idiom, without, however, denying its cradle." * It is true that much of its elegance and artistic finish has been lost, and the nicely-rounded sentences and elaborate periods, with their delicately-shaded conceptions, have disappeared, yet its distinguishing characteristics, especially its strength and beauty, its perspicuity, and its logical and rhetorical power, have been preserved, while to these have been added the simplicity and richness, the ardor and glow of the Aramaic style; but over and above all these, the language has been employed by the Spirit of God, and transformed and transfigured, yes, glorified, with a light and sacredness that the classic literature never possessed.

It is true that the writings of the New Testament are not all on the same level of style and language.† The gospels of Matthew and Mark, and the epistles of Peter and James, together with the Apocalypse, have stronger Aramaic coloring, which disturbs the Greek lines of beauty, the Greek form being overpowered by the life and glow of the Aramaic emotion; yet in the writings of Luke and John, but especially of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, the strength and excellence of the Greek unite with the peculiarities of the Aramaic and the Hebrew in striving, under the potent influence of the Holy Spirit, to convey the new religion in the most adequate and appropriate language and style.

* Reuss, *Hellenistisches Idiom*, in Herzog, I. Aufl., V., p. 710; II. Aufl., V., p. 747; Winer, *New Test. Gram.*, p. 39.

† Immer, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Wittenberg, 1873, p. 106, seq.; Amer. ed., Andover, 1877, p. 132; Reuss, in *l. c.*, p. 747.

Here the humanizing and idealistic tendencies of the Greek combine with the theological and realistic tendencies of the Hebrew and the Aramaic; for to these New Testament writers the person of Christ assumes the central and determining position and influence, as *Yahveh* the one God did to the Old Testament writers. Christ became the emperor of the Scriptures, to use Luther's expression, and His person irradiated its language and literature with His own light and glory. Thus when the mind now strove to conceive no longer the simple idea of the one God *Yahveh*, but the complex idea of the person of Christ and the Trinity therein involved, the Hebrew language was entirely inadequate; and the Greek, as the most capable, must be strained and tried to the utmost to convey the idea of the *Logos*, who was in the beginning, was with God, and was God, and yet became the Word incarnate, the God-man, the interpreter in complete humanity of the fulness of the Deity dwelling in Him (John i. 1-14); for notwithstanding the historical preparation for this conception in the theophanies of the Hebrews, the *nous* of Plato, the *logos* of Philo, and the wisdom of Solomon and Sirach, it was yet an entirely new conception, which, notwithstanding the preparation of the Hebrew and the Greek, the world could not appropriate without the transforming and enlightening influence of the Spirit of God.* So in anthropology the apostle Paul combines the Hebrew and Greek conceptions in order to produce a new and perfect conception. Taking the psychology of the Greek as a system, he gave the central place to the Hebrew *ruach* or

* Dorner, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*, Stuttgart, 1845, I, p. 64; Edin., T. & T. Clark, 1861, pp. 44, 45; Schaff, in Lange, *Com. on John*, N. Y., p. 55.

spirit, finding, to use the words of Zezschwitz, its "undisturbed centralization in living union with the Spirit of God."* He then brings out the strife of the flesh (σάρξ) with the spirit (πνεῦμα), and the false position of the psychical nature (ψυχή) over against the spirit. So also for the first he gives to the world the true conception of the conscience (συνείδησις) as "the remnant of the spirit in the psychical man," "the divine voice," the consciousness of which Socrates felt as the "summit of the knowledge of the true wisdom by the Greek spirit."† Hence the development of the doctrine of sin with its technical terms, and of holiness with its new ideas and language. How infinitely deeper and higher than the Greek are these conceptions of the New Testament language, as the person of Christ, presented by the omnipotent Spirit, convinces the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment (John xvi. 8). Jesus, as "the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth" (John i. 14), assumes the place not only of the heroic ideal man of the Greeks, but even of the unapproachable holy *Jahveh* of the Hebrews. Hence the elevation of the graces of meekness, patience, long-suffering, self-sacrifice; and the dethronement of the Greek virtues of strength, beauty, bravery, manhood. And so in all departments of Christian thought, there was a corresponding elevation and degradation of terms and conceptions. We need only mention regeneration, redemption, reconciliation, justification, sanctification, life and death, heaven and hell, the church, the kingdom of God, repentance, faith, Christian love, baptism, the Lord's supper, the Lord's day, the advent, the judgment, the new Jerusalem, ever-

* Zezschwitz, *Profangrätlichkeit*, etc., p. 36, seq.

† Zezschwitz, in *l. c.*, pp. 35-37.

lasting glory.* Truly a new world was disclosed by the Greek language, and the literature of the New Testament, as the Hebrew and the Aramaic and the Greek combined their energies and capacities in the grasp of the Divine creating and shaping Spirit, who transformed the Greek language and created a new and holy Greek literature, as the earth heaves and subsides into new forms and shapes under the energy of the great forces of its advancing epochs.

The especial literary development of the New Testament is in the sermon and the theological tract. We trace these from the first beginning on the day of Pentecost through the discourses of the book of Acts, and parallel therewith the epistles of Peter and Paul and John. Looking at the sermons we observe that they are no longer on the Aramaic model as are the discourses of our Lord, but we see the Greek orator as well as the Aramaic rabbin. So with the epistles, especially of Paul, although he reminds us of the rabbinical schools in his use of the *halacha* and *haggada* methods,† yet they exhibit rather the dialectic methods of the Greek philosopher. Thus the Greek orator and philosopher prepared the language and style of Paul the preacher and theologian no less than the Hebrew prophet and wise man gave him the fundamental principles of his wisdom and experience. And although the Greek literature of the New Testament has no Demosthenes' "On the crown," or Plato's Republic, as it has no Iliad or Prometheus; yet it lays the foundation of the sermon and the tract, which have been the literary

* Bleek, *Einleitung*, p. 71; Immer, *Hermeneutik*, p. 105; Am. ed., Andover, 1877, pp. 129-131; Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Wörterbuch der New-Testament. Gräcität* and Trench, *New Testament Synonyms* under the respective words.

† Gal. iv. 22, *seq.*; Rom. iii. 1, *seq.*, etc.

means of a world-transforming power, as, from the pulpit and the chair, Christian ministers have stirred the hearts and minds of mankind, and lead the van of progress of the Christian world—for the sermon combines the prophetic message of the Hebrew with the oratorical force of the Greek, as it not only fires the heart, but strives in the council-chamber of the intellect and pleads at the bar of the conscience; while the epistle combines the sententious wisdom of the Hebrew with the dialectic philosophy of the Greek, in order to mould and fashion the souls of men and of nations, by great vital and comprehensive principles that constitute the invincible forces of Christian history.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BIBLE AND CRITICISM.

THE Bible is composed of a great variety of writings of holy men under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in a long series extending through many centuries, preserved to us in three different original languages, the Hebrew, the Chaldee, and the Greek, besides numerous versions. These languages were themselves the products of three different civilizations, which having accomplished their purpose passed away, the languages no longer being used as living speech, but preserved only in written documents. They present to us a great variety of literature, as the various literary styles and the various literary forms of these three languages have combined in this one sacred book of the Christian church, making it as remarkable for its literary variety as for its religious unity.

The Bible is the sacred canon of the church of Christ, the infallible authority in all matters of worship, faith, and practice. From this point of view it has been studied for centuries by Jew and Christian. Principles of interpretation have been established and employed in building up systems of religion, doctrine, and morals. The divine element, which is ever the principal thing, has been justly emphasized; and the doctrine of inspiration has been extended by many dogmatic divines so as to

cover the external letter, the literary form and style, in the theory of verbal inspiration. The fact has been too often overlooked, that it has not seemed best to God to create a holy language for the exclusive vehicle of His Word, or to constitute peculiar literary forms and styles for the expression of His revelation, or to commit the keeping of the text of this Word to infallible guardians. But on the other hand, as He employed men rather than angels as the channels of His revelation, so He used three human languages with all the varieties of literature that had been developed in the various nations, using these languages in order that He might approach mankind in a more familiar way in the *human* forms with which they were acquainted and which they could readily understand, and He permitted the sacred text to depend for its accuracy upon the attention and care of the successive generations of His people. Hence the necessity of biblical criticism to determine the true canon, the correct text, and the position and character of the various writings.

These sacred writings might be studied from the historical point of view under the title, History of Biblical Literature, or from the dogmatic point of view as Biblical Introduction; but both of these methods of treating biblical literature, unless they depend entirely upon traditional opinions, presuppose the work of criticism. The dogmatic method of Biblical Introduction is contrary to the genius of biblical study. The Biblical Introductions constructed on this plan have gathered a vast amount of material in a dry, scholastic, pedantic, and ill-adjusted mass, so as to prejudice the student against the Scriptures when he should be introduced by the best methods into the sacred halls of its literature. The addition of the attributes "historical," and "histori-

co-critical," to "introduction" has been accompanied by a corresponding internal improvement through the introduction of the critical and the historical methods, but they have been kept in too subordinate a place even in the works most characterized by freedom of criticism. Through the influence of Reuss and Hupfeld the historical method came into use as the dominant one.* But such a history of biblical literature can be constructed only after criticism has accomplished its work of destruction and of construction, and it will be shaped and controlled by criticism. Hermann Strack† thinks that such a history is at present impossible on account of the great diversity of opinion among critics. It is true that any such history will represent the subjective opinions of the historian and his school. The works of Fürst and Reuss are built upon theoretical considerations rather than established facts. But a history of biblical literature might be constructed which would distinguish between facts and theories, and though it might be imperfect and not altogether satisfactory, it might prepare the way for something better, and it would certainly present the material in a most attractive form. But the dominant method in all biblical studies should be the inductive and not the historical. The construction of a history of biblical literature would not dispense with a system of biblical literature as a part of Exegetical Theology. In the construction of this system criticism will prove the most important method.

* Reuss, *die Gesch. d. heil. Schriften N. T.*, 1842, 5te Aufl., 1874; Hupfeld, *Begriff und Method d. sogenan. bib. Einleit.*, 1844; Fürst, *Gesch. d. bib. Literatur historisch und kritisch behandelt*, 1867-70; Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, in Herzog, *Real Encyk.* ii. Aufl. iv., p. 147, 1879; Reuss, *Gesch. d. heil. Schriften Allen Test.* 1881.

† Zöckler, *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, I., 1882, p. 122.

It seems best, therefore, to distinguish the three departments of Biblical Literature as, *Biblical Canonics*, *Textual Criticism*, and *Higher Criticism*.

The distinction between the lower and the higher criticism has long been known to scholars. These terms have been more widely used than any others to discriminate between the criticism of the text and the criticism of the literary forms and contents. They are not altogether satisfactory, but we shall retain them as the best terms that have been suggested and in accordance with the established technics of criticism. Hagenbach* proposes to substitute internal and external criticism for higher and lower criticism, but we have yet to learn that any critic has adopted his proposition.

We propose to give in this chapter a general discussion of criticism itself, its idea, divisions, principles, and methods, and the propriety of its application to the Bible; in the three following chapters to treat the three departments of biblical criticism separately, and in the two subsequent chapters to present biblical literature in its two great literary forms, as prose and poetry.

I. WHAT IS CRITICISM?

Biblical criticism is one of the departments of historical criticism, as historical criticism is one of the divisions of general criticism. Criticism is a method of knowledge, and, wherever there is anything to be known, the critical method has its place. Knowledge is gained by the faculties of the human mind through sense-perception, the intuitions, and the reasoning powers. If these were infallible in their working, and their results were always reliable, there would

* *Encyclopædie, etc. Aufl.*, 1874, p. 164.

be no need of criticism ; but, in fact, these faculties are used by fallible men who do not know how to use them, or employ them in various degrees of imperfection, so that human knowledge is ever a mixture of the true and false, the reliable and the unreliable ; and errors of individuals are perpetuated and enhanced by transmission from man to man and from generation to generation. Criticism is the test of the certainty of knowledge, the method of its verification. It examines the products of human thinking and working and tests them by the laws of thought and of history. It eliminates the false, the uncertain, the unsubstantial from the true, the certain, and the substantial.

The unthinking rely upon their own crude knowledge which they have received from their fathers and friends or acquired by their narrow experience, without reflecting upon the uncertainty necessarily attached to it. But the reflecting mind which has experienced the uncertainty of its own acquisitions and of those things that have been transmitted to it, cannot rely upon anything as really known until it has been tested and found reliable by criticism. For criticism reviews the processes of thought and the arguments and evidences by which its results have been acquired. It studies these products in their genesis, examines them carefully in the order of their production, verifies and corrects them, improves upon them where improvement is possible, strengthens them where strength is needed, but also destroys them when they are found to be worthless, misleading, or false, as mere conceits, illusions, or fraudulent inventions. Criticism is thus on the one side destructive, for its office is to detect the false, eliminate it, and destroy it. This is not infrequently a painful process to the critic himself and to those who have allowed

themselves to be deceived, and have been relying upon the unreliable; but it is indispensable to the knowledge of the truth; it is the path of safety for the intellect and the morals; it removes the obstructions to progress in knowledge. The destruction of an error opens up a vision of the truth, as a mote removed from the eye or frost brushed from the window. For criticism is also constructive. It tests and finds the truth. It rearranges truths and facts in their proper order and harmony. In accordance with the strictness of its methods, and the thoroughness of their application will be the certainty of the results. But criticism itself, as a human method of knowledge, is also defective and needs self-criticism for its own rectification, security, and progress. It must again and again verify its methods and correct its processes. Eternal vigilance is the price of truth as well as of liberty. It improves its methods with the advancement of human learning. In the infancy or growth of a nation, or of an individual, or of the world, we do not find criticism. It belongs to the manhood and maturity of a nation and the world's civilization.

Criticism requires for its exercise careful training. Only those who have learned how to use its tools and have employed them with the best masters, and have attained a mastery of the departments of knowledge to be criticised, are prepared for the delicate and difficult work of criticism; for knowledge must be attained ere it can be tested. Criticism refines the crude oil of knowledge. It cleanses and polishes the rough diamond of thought. It removes the dross from the gold of wisdom. Criticism searches all departments of knowledge as a torch of fire consuming the hay, straw, and stubble, that the truth of God may shine forth in its majesty and certainty as the imperishable and eternal

No one need fear criticism, save those who are uncertain in their knowledge, for criticism leads to certitude. It dissipates doubt. *Fiat Lux* is its watchword.

We are not surprised that criticism has thus far been largely destructive, for there were many errors that had grown up and become venerable with age, and were so interwoven and embedded in systems of philosophy, of theology, of law, medicine, and science, as well as the manners and customs of men, that a long conflict was necessary to destroy them. Mankind in general are more concerned with the maintenance of established positions and systems and vested interests than they are interested in the truth of God and of nature. Scholars, when they see the venerable errors, hesitate to destroy them for fear of damaging their own interests or those of their friends, and sometimes out of anxiety for the truth, with which the error is entangled. But in the providence of God, some great doubter like Voltaire, Hume or Strauss, or some great reformer like Luther or Zwingli, arises to lay violent hands upon the systems in which truth and error are combined, raze them to the ground and trample them in the dust, that from the ruins the imperishable truth may be gathered up and arranged in its proper order and harmony.

The modern world since the Reformation has become more and more critical, until the climax has been reached in our day. The destruction of error has been the chief duty of criticism, but its constructive work has not been neglected, and this will more and more rise into importance in the progress of knowledge. It is not without significance that the age of the world most characterized by the spirit of criticism has been the age of the most wonderful progress in all departments of human knowledge.

Criticism divides itself into various branches in accordance with the departments of knowledge: (1) Philosophical Criticism; (2) Historical Criticism; and (3) Scientific Criticism. Limiting ourselves to historical criticism we distinguish it from other criticism, in that it has to do with the materials of the past, the sources of the history of mankind; as philosophical criticism has to do with the facts of human consciousness, and scientific criticism with the facts of external nature. Historical criticism deals with the various sources of history; literary documents, monuments, laws, customs, institutions, traditions, legends, and myths. The great importance of the literary sources justifies their separation in the distinct branch of literary criticism. Biblical criticism is one of the sections of literary criticism, as it has to do with the sacred literature of the Christian Church.

II. THE PRINCIPLES OF CRITICISM.

The principles and methods of Biblical Criticism will thus embrace (1) those of Criticism in general, (2) of Historical Criticism, (3) of Literary Criticism, and (4) of Biblical Criticism. Biblical Criticism has thus the advantage of all this preliminary work in other fields to guide and illustrate its own peculiar work.

1. From *General Criticism* it derives the fundamental laws of thought, which must not be violated, such as the laws of identity, of contradiction, of exclusion, and of sufficient reason; * also the laws of probation, which must be applied to all reasoning: There must be no begging of the question at issue, no reasoning backward and forward or in a circle, no jumping at conclusions, no set-

* Sir Wm. Hamilton, *Logic*, Boston, 1860, p. 57; also McCosh, *Laws of Discursive Thought*, N. Y., 1871, p. 195, *seq.*

ting out to prove one thing and then insensibly substituting another thing in its place.* These laws of probation are the sharp tools of the critic with which he tests all the acquisitions of the human mind and all the reasonings of scholars in all departments of knowledge.†

2. From *Historical Criticism* Biblical Criticism derives the principles of historic genesis. The evidences of history belong to the past. They are oral, written, or monumental. They have passed through several stages before they reached us. They must be traced back to their origin in order to determine whether they are genuine; or whether they have been invented as interesting stories for hours of idleness and recreation, or as forgeries with the intent to deceive; or whether there is a mingling of these various elements that need to be separated and distinguished.‡

The order and processes of the development of the material must be considered in order to determine its integrity, or how far it has been modified by external influences or the struggle of internal inconsistencies, and how far the earlier and the later elements may be distinguished and the excrescences removed from the original.

The character of the material must be studied in order to determine how far it is reliable and trustworthy; whether it is in accordance with the experience of mankind, and so natural; or contrary to that experience, and so unnatural or supernatural; whether it is in harmony with itself and consistent with its own conditions and

* Sir Wm. Hamilton, *Logic*, p. 369; McCosh, *Laws of Discursive Thought*, p. 183, *seq.*

† An excellent application of these principles to Biblical Criticism is found in the article of Willis J. Beecher on the *Logical Methods of Professor Kuenen*, in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1882, III., p. 701, *seq.*

‡ Gieseler, *Text-Book of Church History*. N. Y., 1857, I., p. 23.

circumstances; whether there are disturbing influences that determine the material so as to warp or color it and how far these influences extend.*

The value of the materials of history depends upon such considerations as these; also upon the nearness or remoteness of the material to the matters concerning which they render testimony; upon the extent and variety of evidence, if that extent and variety are primitive and not derived from an original source upon which they all depend. The consistency and persistence of materials are also evidences of vitality and inherent strength of evidence.

The sources of history that cannot bear this criticism are not reliable sources. The application of these simple tests removes from the pages of history numberless legends, fables, and myths, and determines the residuum of truth and fact that underlies them. It is distressing to part with the sweet stories which have been told us in our early life, and which have been handed down by the romancers from the childhood and youth of our race. We may still use them as stories, as products of the imagination, but we dare not build on them as historic verities. As men we must know the truth. We cannot afford to deceive ourselves or others.

Many of these legends and traditions have strongly intrenched themselves and lie like solid rocks in the path of historic investigation. They must be exploded to get at the truth, and this cannot be done without noise and confusion; and outcries of alarm from the weak and timid, and those who are interested in the maintenance of error and court popularity by an appeal to prejudices. Sometimes these traditions may be

* See Droysen, *Grundriss der Historik*. Leipzig, 1868. pp. 16-17.

overcome by positive evidence obtained by careful research in ancient documents, and by parallel lines of evidence. But it is not always possible to obtain sufficient external positive evidence. Sometimes we have to rely upon a long-continued and unbroken silence, and sometimes we have to challenge the tradition and reject it from sheer lack of evidence and the suspicious circumstances of its origin and growth.

3. From *Literary Criticism* Biblical Criticism derives its chief principles and methods. As literature it must first be considered as text. The MSS., versions, and citations are studied in order to attain, as far as possible, the originals.* The laws of the transmission of books are to be determined. The sources of error in the text are the carelessness, ignorance, or inadvertence of the copyists. We have to consider the mistakes which they were liable to make, such as in words of similar sound, in letters of like form, in the repetition of words in passing from line to line, in the omission or insertion of words or clauses by slips of the eye, in the transfer of explanatory notes from the margin to the text. The errors in translation arise from lack of knowledge of the original, or inability to give adequate expression to the idea of the original, save by paraphrase, and in defective judgment as to the best way of rendering it. Errors in citation arise from slips of the memory and the desire to use a part and not the whole of the passage, or the adaptation of it to circumstances beyond the scope of the original. There are also errors in the text because of the wear and tear of time in the destruction of MSS., ren-

* A statement of the principles of Textual Criticism in relation to the New Testament may be found in the article of Prof. B. B. Warfield on *The Greek Testament of Westcott and Hort*. *Presbyterian Review*, III., 1882, p. 334, seq.

dering them illegible, indistinct, or mutilated, and through the efforts to restore them.* The value of the MSS. must first be considered, their interrelation and antiquity and history. They must be arranged in families or groups that their relative authority may be established.† The value of the MSS. having been determined, we are prepared to examine the relative value of the readings. The principles on which this is done are : (1) The reading which lies at the root of all the variations and best explains them is to be preferred. (2) The most difficult reading is more likely to be correct from the natural tendency of the scribe to make his text as easy and intelligible as possible, and the natural process of simplification in transmission.‡ (3) The reading most in accordance with the context, and especially with the style and usage of the author and his times, is to be preferred. This is on the principle of consistency and "intrinsic probability." §

4. Having secured the best text of the writings, criticism devotes itself to the higher task of considering them as to integrity, authenticity, literary form, and reliability. This is appropriately called *Higher Criticism*. This branch of criticism has established its principles

* See Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, 1650, Lib. I.; Scrivener, *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 1874, p. 7, *seq.*; Isaac Taylor, *History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times*, new edition. Liverpool, 1879, p. 22; also Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in the Original Greek*, Vol. II., *Introduction*, N. Y., 1882, p. 5, *seq.*

† See Scrivener in *I. c.*, p. 404, *seq.* Westcott and Hort deserve great credit for their elaboration of this principle in *I. c.*, p. 39, *seq.*

‡ These two principles are combined by Westcott and Hort in *I. c.*, p. 22, *seq.*, under the term "transcriptional probability."

§ See Westcott and Hort in *I. c.*, p. 20, *seq.* Scrivener expands these principles to seven in number in *I. c.*, p. 436, *seq.*; Davidson, *Treatise of Biblical Criticism*, Boston, 1853, p. 386, *seq.*, gives principles of Textual Criticism for the Old Testament.

and methods of work. Thus the learned Roman Catholic, Du Pin, in the introduction to his magnificent work on ecclesiastical writers, gives an admirable statement of them with reference to those ecclesiastical writers before the higher criticism of the Scriptures had fairly begun. We shall build largely upon him in the statement of principles.*

The questions to be determined by higher criticism are:

(1) *As to the integrity of the writings.* Is the writing the work of a single author or is it a collection of writings of different authors? Is it in its original condition, or has it been edited or interpolated by later writers? Can the parts be discriminated, the original form of the writing determined, and the different steps in interpolation and editing traced?

(2) *As to the authenticity of the writings.* Is the writing anonymous, pseudonymous, or does it bear the author's name? If the author's name is given, is the title genuine or is it a forgery? What reliance can be placed upon tradition with regard to the authorship of anonymous writings?

(3) *As to literary features.* What is the style of the author, his method of composition? What literary form does he assume, poetry or prose, and what variety of these general forms?

(4) *As to the credibility of the writings.* Is the writing reliable? Do its statements accord with the truth, or are they colored and warped by prejudice, superstition, or reliance upon insufficient or unworthy testimony? What character does the author bear as to prudence, good judgment, fairness, integrity, and critical sagacity?

* *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, Paris, 1694; *New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, London, 1696.

These questions of the higher criticism are to be determined by the following principles:*

(1) The writing must be in accordance with its supposed historic position as to time and place and circumstances.

"Time is one of the most certain proofs; for nothing more evidently shows that a book cannot belong to that time wherein it is pretended to have been written, than when we find in it some marks of a later date. These marks, in the first place, are false dates; for 'tis an ordinary thing for impostors, that are generally ignorant, to date a book after the death of the author to whom they ascribe it, or of the person to whom they ascribe it, or of the person to whom it is dedicated, or written; and even when they do fix the time right, yet they often mistake in the names of the consuls, or in some other circumstances: All which are invincible proofs that he that dated this book did not live at that time. Secondly, impostors very often speak of men that lived long after the death of those persons to whom they attribute those spurious discourses, or they relate the history of some passages that happened afterwards, or they speak of cities and people that were unknown at the time, when those authors wrote"†

(2) Differences of style imply differences of experience and age of the same author, or, when sufficiently great, differences of author and of period of composition.

"In short, stile is a sort of touchstone, that discovers the truth or falsehood of books; because it is impossible to imitate the stile of any author so perfectly as that there will not be a great deal of difference. By the stile, we are not only to understand the bare words and terms, which are easily imitated; but also the turn of the discourse, the manner of writing, the elocution, the figures, and the

* A brief statement of these principles is presented in relation to Biblical Criticism by Prof. Henry P. Smith, in his article on the *Critical Theories of Julius Wellhausen*, *Presbyterian Review*, 1882, III., p. 370.

† Du Pin, *New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*. 3d edition, corrected. London, 1696, p. vii. seq.

method : All which particulars, it is a difficult matter so to counterfeit as to prevent a discovery. There are, for instance, certain authors, whose stile is easily known, and which it is impossible to imitate : We ought not, however, always to reject a book upon a slight difference of stile, without any other proofs ; because it often happens that authors write differently, in different times : Neither ought we immediately to receive a book as genuine, upon the bare resemblance of stile, when there are other proofs of its being spurious ; because it may so happen, that an ingenious man may sometimes counterfeit the stile of an author, especially in discourses which are not very long. But the difference and resemblance of stile may be so remarkable sometimes, as to be a convincing proof, either of truth or falsehood " (in *l. c.*, p. viii.).

(3) Differences of opinion and conception imply differences of author when these are sufficiently great, and also differences of period of composition.

" The opinions or things contained in a book, do likewise discover the forgery of it : (1) When we find some opinions there, that were not maintained till a long time after the author, whose name it bears. (2) When we find some terms made use of, to explain these doctrines, which were not customary till after his death. (3) When the author opposes errors, as extant in his own time, that did not spring up till afterwards. (4) When he describes ceremonies, rites and customs that were not in use in his time. (5) When we find some opinions in these spurious discourses, that are contrary to those that are to be found in other books, which unquestionably belong to that author. (6) When he treats of matters that were never spoken of in the time when the real author was alive. (7) When he relates histories that are manifestly fabulous " (in *l. c.*, p. viii.).

(4) Citations show the dependence of the author upon the author or authors cited, where these are definite and the identity of the author cited can be clearly established. In cases of doubt as to which author uses the other, or whether two or more authors may not depend upon an earlier author ; this doubt can be resolved only by the careful determination of the exact interrelation

of the passages and the genesis of the one out of the other. This is the most difficult principle of the higher criticism in its application. Du Pin simply attaches it to No. (1), "or lastly, they cite authors that wrote and lived after those whom they make to mention them."

These four principles are embraced under the *internal* evidence. To them we must now add two principles of *external* evidence.

(5) *Positive* testimony as to the writing in other writings of acknowledged authority.

(6) The *silence* of authorities as to the writing in question. These are combined by Du Pin :

"The external proofs are, in the first place, taken from ancient manuscripts ; in which either we do not find the name of an author : or else we find that of another : The more ancient or correct they are, the more we ought to value them. Secondly, from the testimony or silence of ancient authors ; from their testimony, I say, when they formally reject a writing as spurious, or when they attribute it to some other author ; or from their silence when they do not speak of it, though they have occasion to mention it : This argument, which is commonly called a negative one, is oftentimes of very great weight. When, for example, we find, that several entire books which are attributed to one of the ancients, are unknown to all antiquity : When all those persons that have spoken of the works of an author, and besides, have made catalogues of them, never mention such a particular discourse : When a book that would have been serviceable to the Catholics has never been cited by them, who both might and ought to have cited it, as having a fair occasion to do it, 'tis extremely probable that it is supposititious. It is very certain that this is enough to make any book doubtful, if it was never cited by any of the ancients ; and in that case it must have very authentic characters of antiquity, before it ought to be received without contradiction. And on the other hand, if there should be never so few conjectures of its not being genuine, yet these, together with the silence of the ancients, will be sufficient to oblige us to believe it to be a forgery" (in *l. c.*, p. viii.).

The argument from silence has risen to so much greater importance than it was in the seventeenth century that we shall venture to define it more narrowly.

(a) Silence is a lack of evidence, when it is clear that the matter in question did not come within the scope of the author's argument.

(b) It is an evidence that it had certain characteristics that excluded it from the author's argument.

(c) The matter in question lies fairly within the author's scope, and was omitted for good and sufficient reasons that may be ascertained. The omission was intentional.

(d) The silence of the author as to that which was within the scope of his argument was unconscious and implies ignorance of the matter.

(e) When the silence extends over a variety of writings of different authors, of different classes of writings and different periods of composition, it implies either some strong and overpowering external restraint such as divine interposition, or ecclesiastical or civil power, or it implies a general and wide-spread public ignorance which presents a strong presumptive evidence in favor of the non-existence of the matter in question.*

The internal evidence must be used with great caution and sound judgment, for an able and learned forger might imitate so as to deceive the most expert, and the author of a pseudepigraph might intentionally place his writing in an earlier age of the world and in circumstances best suited to carry out his idea. But sooner or later a faithful and persistent application of the critical

* For an elaboration and explanation of these principles we must refer to the author's paper on the argument *e silentio*, read before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in June, 1883, and published in their *Journal*, for 1883.

tests will determine the forgeries and the pseudepigraphs and assign them their real literary position. As to the relative value of the internal and external evidence we cannot do better than use the judicious words of Sir Wm. Hamilton: "But if our criticism from the internal grounds alone be, on the one hand, impotent to establish, it is, on the other hand, omnipotent to disprove." *

The importance of this higher criticism is so well stated by Du Pin, that we will again quote him:

"Criticism is a kind of torch, that lights and conducts us in the obscure tracts of antiquity, by making us to distinguish truth from falsehood, history from fable, and antiquity from novelty. 'Tis by this means, that in our times we have disengaged ourselves from an infinite number of very common errors, into which our fathers fell for want of examining things by the rules of true criticism. For 'tis a surprising thing to consider how many spurious books we find in antiquity; nay, even in the first ages of the Church" (in *l. c.*, p. vii.).

In order to illustrate these principles of the higher criticism, we shall present a few specimens of their application.

The first illustration that we shall give is with reference to the question of *integrity*. The so-called Apostles' Creed is the most sacred writing exterior to the canon of Scripture.

"Till the middle of the seventeenth century it was the current belief of Roman Catholic and Protestant Christendom that the Apostles' Creed was '*membratum articulatumque*,' composed by the apostles in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, or before their separation; to secure unity of teaching, each contributing an article (hence the somewhat arbitrary division into twelve articles)."

The arguments adduced by Dr. Schaff to prove that this tradition is false, are: (1) The intrinsic improba-

* *Logic*, p. 471.

bility of such a mechanical composition. (2) The silence of Scripture. (3) The silence of the apostolic fathers and all the Ante-Nicene and Nicene fathers and synods. (4) The variety in form of the creed down to the eighth century. (5) The fact that the Apostles' Creed never had any currency in the East where the Nicene creed occupies its place.*

Lumby goes into the matter of the structure of the creed more fully, and shows the process of its formation and all the changes through which it passed, until it gradually, in 750 A.D., assumed its present stereotyped form.†

The best illustration of the higher criticism with reference to the question of *authenticity*, is afforded by Bentley in his celebrated work on the epistles of Phalaris.‡ Bentley proves these epistles to be forgeries of a sophist: I. By internal evidence. (1) They do not accord with their *presumed age*, but with other ages. They mention (a) Aloesa, a city which was not built till 140 years after the latest year of Phalaris; (b) Theridean cups, which were not known until 120 years after the death of Phalaris; (c) Messana, as a different city from Zaude, whereas it was a later name for the same city, and not changed till 60 years after the death of Phalaris; (d) Taurominium, 140 years before it was ever thought of.

(2) *Differences of style*: (a) the use of the Attic dialect instead of the Doric, the speech of Phalaris, and indeed not the old Attic, but the new Attic that was not used till centuries after Phalaris' time.

* Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, New York, 1877, I., p. 19.

† Lumby, *History of the Creeds*, Cambridge, 1873, p. 169, *seq.*

‡ *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*, London, 1699, a new edition edited by Wilhelm Wagner, London, 1883.

(3) *Differences of thought*: (a) reference to tragedy before tragedy came into existence; (b) use of Attic and not Sicilian talents in speaking of money; (c) use of the word *προνοια* for Divine Providence, which was not used before Plato, and *κοσμος* for the universe, which was not so used before Pythagoras; (d) inconsistencies between the ideas and matter of the epistle, which are those of a sophist, and the historical character of Phalaris as a politician and tyrant.

(4) *Relation to other writers*. He uses Herodotus, Demosthenes, Euripides.

II. The external evidences are: (5) *testimony*. Atossa is said to have been the first inventor of epistles. Hence those that carry the name of Phalaris two generations earlier must be impostures.

(6) *Silence*. There is a thousand years of silence as to these epistles. "For had our letter been used or transcribed during that thousand years, somebody would have spoken of it, especially since so many of the ancients had occasion to do so; so that their silence is a direct argument that they never had heard of them."* We have dwelt at some length upon the principles and methods of the higher criticism, because of their great importance in our day with reference to the Scriptures and the lack of information concerning them that prevails to an astonishing degree among men who make some pretensions to scholarship.

III. THE CRITICISM OF THE BIBLE.

Thus far Biblical Criticism has derived from other branches of criticism the principles and methods of its work. Has it not, however, some peculiar features of

* New edition, 1883, p. 481.

its own, as it has to do with the sacred canon of the Christian Church? Does the fact that the canon of sacred Scripture is holy, inspired, and of divine authority, lift it above criticism, or does it give additional features of criticism that enable us to test the genuineness of these claims respecting it? We hold that the latter is the true and only safe position, and that it should be our effort to determine these principles and methods. We reserve this question for our following chapter. In the meanwhile we have to meet on the threshold of our work the *a priori* objections that would obstruct our progress in the application of the principles and methods of criticism to the Bible.

Biblical Criticism is confronted by traditional views of the Bible that do not wish to be disturbed, and by dogmatic statements respecting the Bible which decline reinvestigation and revision. The claim is put forth that these traditional views and dogmatic statements are in accordance with the Scriptures and the symbols of the Church, and that the orthodox faith is put in peril by criticism.

It should be distinctly recognized at the outset that such claims as these can only influence the adherents of the church, and, at the utmost, debar them from the exercise of criticism. They cannot be more than amusing to the unbelieving and the sceptical, who care but little for the church and still less for theologians and their orthodoxy. They will use the tests of criticism without restraint. We cannot prevent them. The question is whether Christian scholars also shall be entitled to use them in defence of the Scriptures, or whether that defence is to be left in the hands of dogmatic theologians and scholastics. A still further remark is necessary just here in the interests of truth

and honesty. Why should the Scriptures fear the most searching investigation? If they are truly the Word of God they will maintain themselves and vindicate themselves in the battle of criticism. If we are sure of this, let us rejoice in the conflict that will lead to victory; if we are in doubt of it, it is best that our doubts should be removed as soon as possible. Then let the tests be applied, and let us know in whom and what we believe.*

It is pretended that the Church doctrine of inspiration is in peril, and that the authority of the Scriptures is thereby undermined. If there were one clearly defined orthodox doctrine of inspiration to which all evangelical men agreed, as supported by Scripture and the Protestant confessions, our task would be easier. But, in fact, there are various theories of inspiration, and several ways of stating the doctrine of inspiration that are without support in Scripture or symbol. It is necessary, therefore, to discriminate, in order to determine exactly what is in peril, whether *inspiration* itself and the *authority of the Scriptures*, or some particular and false theory of inspiration and the authority of some theologian or school of theology.

The doctrine of inspiration may be constructed (1) by a careful, painstaking study of the sacred Scriptures themselves, gathering together their testimony as to their own origin, character, design, value, and authority. This gives us the biblical doctrine of the Scriptures and the doctrine of inspiration as a part of Biblical Theology. (2) The doctrine of inspiration may be constructed from a study of the symbolical books of the Church, which express the faith of the Church as attained in the great

* Robert Rainy, *Bible and Criticism*, London, 1878, p. 33.

crises of its history, in the study of the Scriptures, in the experiences and life of men. This gives us the symbolical, or orthodox, or Church doctrine of inspiration. (3) The doctrine of inspiration may be constructed by a study of Scripture and symbol, and the logical unfolding of the results of a more extended study of the whole subject in accordance with the dominant philosophical and theological principles of the times. This gives us the dogmatic, or school, or traditional doctrine of inspiration as it has been established in particular schools of theology, and has become traditional in the long-continued teaching of the Church and the pulpit, in the various particular theories of inspiration that have been formulated.

As we rise in the doctrinal process from the simple biblical statements, unformulated as they lie in the sacred writings or formulated in Biblical Theology, to the more complex and abstract statements of the symbols expressing the formulated consensus of the leaders of the Church in the formative periods of history, and then to the more theoretical and scholastic statements of the doctrinal treatises of the theologians, while the doctrine becomes more and more complex, massive, consistent, and imposing, and seems, therefore, to become more authoritative and binding; in reality the authority diminishes in this relative advance in systematization, so that what is gained in extension is lost in intension; for the construction is a construction of sacred materials by human and fallible minds, with defective logic, failing sometimes to justify premises, and leaping to conclusions that cannot always be defended, and in a line and direction determined by the temporary and provisional conditions and necessities of the times, neglecting modifying circumstances and conditions. The concrete that

the Bible gives us is for all time, as it is the living and eternal substance; though changeable, it reproduces and so perpetuates itself in a wonderful variety of forms of beauty, yet all blending and harmonizing as the colors of the clouds and skies under the painting of the sunbeams; but the abstract is the formal and the perishable, as it is broken through and shattered by the pulsations and struggles of the living and developing truth of God, ever striving for expression and adaptation to every different condition of mankind, in the different epochs and among the various races of the world.

The course of religious history has clearly established the principle that there is a constant tendency in all religions, and especially in the Christian religion, in the systematic or dogmatic statement to constrain the symbol as well as the Scriptures into the requirements of the particular formative principle and the needs of the particular epoch. The dogmatic scheme is too often the mould into which the gold of the Scriptures and the silver of the creed are poured to coin a series of definitions, and fashion a system of theology which not only breaks up the concrete and harmonious whole of the Scriptures into fragments, stamping them with the imprint of the particular conception of the theologian in order to their reconstruction; but not infrequently the constructed system becomes an idol of the theologian and his pupils, as if it were the orthodox, the divine truth, while a mass of valuable scriptural and symbolical material is cast aside in the process, and lies neglected in the workshop. In course of time the symbols as well as the Scriptures are overlaid with glosses and perplexing explanations, so that they become either dark, obscure, and uncertain to the ordinary reader, or else have their meanings deflected and perverted, until

they are once more grasped by a living, energetical faith in a revived state of the Church, and burst forth from their scholastic fetters, that Scripture, creed, and life may once more correspond. While traditionalism and scholasticism have not prevailed in the Protestant Church to the same extent as in the Greek and Roman churches, for the right of private judgment and the universal priesthood of believers have maintained their ground with increasing vigor in Western Europe and America since the Reformation; yet it is no less true that the principle of traditionalism is ever at work in the chairs of theology and in the pulpits of the Church; so that in seeking for truth and in estimating what is binding on faith and conscience, even Protestants must distinctly separate the three things: Bible, symbol, and tradition; the Bible, the sole *infallible* norm; the symbol, binding those who hold to the body of which it is the *banner*; while tradition demands at the most our respect, and reverence, and careful consideration, and the presumption in its favor; but must be tried and criticised by every thinking man, and every living, energetic Christian.

It is of vast importance that we should make these distinctions on the threshold of the study of the critical theories; for there is no field in which tradition has been more hasty in its conclusions, more busy in their formation, more dogmatic and sensitive to criticism, more reluctant and stubborn to give way to the truth, than in the sacred fields of the Divine Word. Thus criticism is confronted at the outset now as ever with two *a priori* objections.

1st. There are those who maintain that their traditional views of the sacred Scriptures are inseparably bound up with the church doctrine of inspiration, so

that even if they should be in some respects doubtful or erroneous, they must be left alone for fear of the destruction of the doctrine of inspiration itself. This is true of those traditional theories of inspiration which in some quarters have expanded so as to cover a large part of the ground of Exegetical Theology, and commit themselves to theories of text and author, date, style, and integrity of writings, in accordance with a common, but, in our judgment, an injudicious method of discussing the whole Bible under the head of bibliology in the prolegomena of the dogmatic system; but this is not true of the symbolical doctrine of inspiration, still less of the scriptural doctrine. The most that this objection can require of the critics is, that they should be careful and cautious of giving offence, or of needlessly shocking prejudices; that they should be respectful and reverent of the faith of the people and of revered theologians; but it is not to be supposed that it will make them recreant to their trust of seeking earnestly, patiently, persistently, and prayerfully for the truth of God. It may be found that the school doctrines of inspiration have obtruded themselves in place of the symbolical and scriptural doctrine, and it may be necessary to destroy these school doctrines in order to the safety of the biblical and symbolical doctrine. However distressing this may be to certain dogmatic divines and their adherents, it may afford gratification to all sincere lovers of the truth of God.

2d. There are those who claim that their traditional theory is the logical unfolding of the doctrine of the Symbols and the Scriptures. But this is begging the very question at issue which will not be yielded. Why should dogmatic theologians claim exemption from criticism and the testing of the grounds of their systems?

Such an arbitrary claim for deductions and consequences is one that no true critic or historian ought to concede; for, by so doing, he abandons at once the right and ground of criticism, and the inductive methods of historical and scientific investigation, and sacrifices his material to the dogmatist and scholastic, surrendering the concrete for the abstract. The very sensitiveness to criticism displayed in some quarters justifies the critics in their suspicion that the theories are weak and will not sustain investigation.

Traditional theories cannot overcome critical theories with either of these *a priori* objections of apprehended peril to faith or logical inconsistencies, but must submit to the test of the symbol and the Scriptures to which the critics appeal as the arbiters against tradition. The characteristic principle of Puritanism is that:

"God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to His Word or beside it in matters of faith and worship; so that, to believe such doctrine, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also."*

Biblical criticism bases its historic right on the principles of the Reformation and of Puritanism over against the Roman Catholic principle of the supremacy of tradition and dogma. On this basis the Protestant symbols have been accepted and subscribed by honest and faithful men for their *face value* for all that is fairly contained therein, and not for certain unknown and undiscovered consequences which may have a chance majority or the most authoritative teachers. Symbols of faith are the ex-

* *Westminster Conf. of Faith*, xx. 2; see also A. F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly: its History and Standards*, London, 1883, pp. 8, seq., 465.

pression of the faith of those who constructed them, and of those who subsequently adopted them, so far as they give expression to Christian doctrine; but, with regard to those questions not covered by their statements, which they may have held in abeyance, or purposely omitted on account of disagreement, and in order to liberty, or because they were not suited for a *national* confession or a *child's* catechism, or because they had not yet arisen in the field of controversy,—to bring these in by the plea of logical deduction, is to elaborate and enlarge the creed against the judgment of those who framed it, is to usurp the constitutional methods of revision, is to dogmatize and obstruct those active, energetic scholars, who, having accepted them for their face value as a genuine expression of their faith, push forth into the unexplored fields of the Bible and theology, in order, by the inductive method and the generalization of facts, rather than by deductions from symbolic or scholastic statements, to win new triumphs for their Divine Master.

These preliminary observations are necessary, in order to clear the ground and make the distinction evident between the symbolical, the truly orthodox doctrine of inspiration from which true criticism has nothing to fear, and any traditional, scholastic, or professedly orthodox doctrine of inspiration, such as those that have waged war with criticism so often since the Reformation.

Recent critical theories arise and work as did their predecessors, in the various departments of exegetical theology. Here is their strength, that they antagonize scholastic dogma with the Bible itself, and appeal from *school* theology to *biblical* theology. Unless traditional theories of inspiration can vindicate themselves on Bible grounds, meet the critics, and overcome them in fair

conflict, in the sacred fields of the Divine Word, sooner or later traditional theories will be driven from the field. It will not do to antagonize critical theories of the Bible with traditional theories of the Bible, for the critic appeals to history against tradition, to an array of facts against so-called inferences, to the laws of probation against dogmatic assertion, to the Divine Spirit speaking in the Scriptures against external authority. History, facts, truth, the laws of thought, are all divine products, and most consistent with the Divine Word, and they will surely prevail.

It is significant that the great majority of professional biblical scholars in the various universities and theological halls of the world, embracing those of the greatest learning, industry, and piety, demand a revision of traditional theories of the Bible, on account of a large induction of new facts from the Bible and history. These critics must be met with argument and candid reasoning as to these facts and their interpretation, and cannot be overcome by mere cries of alarm for the Church and the Bible which, in their last analysis, usually amount to nothing more than peril to certain favorite views. What peril can come to the Scriptures from a more profound critical study of them? The peril is to scholastic dogmas and to tradition. But what then are we contending for as evangelical men, for the faith of the Scriptures, the faith of Wittenberg, of Geneva, and of Westminster, or for the faith of the Reformed scholastics, and the faith of certain schools of theology and their chiefs? We must recognize in order to meet this issue, upon which everything depends, that biblical critics cannot afford to carry the load of the school theology into the conflicts of the nineteenth century, but must strip to the symbols for a conflict with rationalism and materialism; and we should

not fear as evangelical biblical scholars to accept the challenge of our adversaries and go forth from the breastworks of our symbols to meet them in fair and honorable warfare in open field with the biblical material itself on the principles of induction.* The sword of the Spirit alone will conquer in this warfare. Are Christian men afraid to put it to the test? For this is a conflict after all between true criticism and false criticism; between the criticism which is the product of the evangelical spirit of the Reformation, and critical principles that are the product of deism and rationalism. Evangelical criticism has been marching from conquest to conquest, though far too often at a sad disadvantage, like a storming party who have sallied forth from their breastworks to attack the trenches of the enemy, finding in the hot encounter that the severest fire and gravest peril are from the misdirected batteries of their own line. Shall evangelical criticism in searching the Scriptures be permitted to struggle unhindered with rationalistic criticism, or must it protect itself also from scholastic dogmatism? We do not deny the right of dogmatism and the *a priori* method, nor the worth of tradition, within their proper spheres; but we maintain the equal right of criticism and the inductive method, and their far greater importance in the acquisition of true and reliable knowledge. If criticism and dogmatism are harnessed together, a span of twin steeds, they will draw the car of theology rapidly toward its highest ideal; but pulling in opposite directions, especially in the present crisis, they will tear it to pieces.

* See author's article on the *Right, Duty, and Limits of Biblical Criticism*, *Presbyterian Review*, II., p. 557, *seq.*; Willis J. Beecher, art. *Logical Methods of Prof. Kuenen*, *Presbyterian Review*, III., p. 703; Francis L. Patton, art. *Pentateuchal Criticism*, *Presbyterian Review*, IV., p. 356, *seq.*

CHAPTER V.

THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM in its larger sense, embracing the several departments of biblical literature after its early activity in the Christian schools of Alexandria and Syria, and in the rabbinical schools of Tiberias and Babylon, in the study of the canon and the text of Scripture, gave place to a long supremacy of dogma and tradition. The Septuagint version became the inspired text to the Greek church, the Massoretic text of the Hebrew Scriptures to the Jews, and the Vulgate version to the Roman church. The canon of the Old Testament having been determined by the assembly at Jamnia toward the close of the first Christian century by rabbinical authority, became limited in the Talmud to the 24 books. These are mentioned in the order: (1) The five books of the law; (2) eight books of the prophets—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the twelve minor prophets; (3) eleven other books—Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles.*

The Christian church made no official determination of the canon of Scripture save in provincial synods, such as the Council of Laodicea and the synod of Carthage,

* *Talm. Babli, Baba Bathra*, p. 14 a.

both in the fourth century, whose decisions express the differences of opinion which have always been in the church. In part the theologians have followed the stricter Hieronymian canon which corresponds with the Talmudic with reference to the Old Testament, but chiefly the fuller Hellenistic and Augustinian canon including the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. In the New Testament, by general consent, the four gospels, the book of Acts, the thirteen epistles of Paul, the epistle to the Hebrews, the first epistle of Peter, and first epistle of John were recognized, while the doubts of the early church as to the epistles of James, Jude, 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John, and the Apocalypse became more and more feeble and infrequent.* These sacred books were interpreted by the body of tradition that had become solidified in the Talmud among the Jews, and in the fathers and schoolmen in the various Christian churches.

I. THE CANON OF THE REFORMERS.

The Protestant Reformation was a great *critical* revival, due largely to the new birth of learning in Western Europe. The emigration of the fugitive Greeks from Constantinople after its capture by the Turks, had planted a young Greek culture. A stream of thought burst forth, and poured like a quickening flood strong and deep over Europe. Cardinal Ximenes, with the aid of a number of Christian and Jewish scholars, such as Alphonso de Zamora, Demetrius Ducas, and Alphonso de Alcala, issued the world-renowned Complutensian Polyglot, 1513-17. The Greek

* Reuss, *Histoire du Canon des Saintes Ecritures* II. édition, Strasbourg, 1864, pp. 191 *seq.*, 218 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*, 274 *seq.*; Charteris, *The New Testament Scriptures*, N. Y., 1882, p. 163, *seq.*

New Testament was studied with avidity by a series of scholars, among whom Erasmus was pre-eminent. He published the first Greek Testament in 1516. Elias Levita and Jacob ben Chajim, in whom Jewish learning culminated, introduced Christians into a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures. Reuchlin laid the foundation for Hebrew scholarship among Christians, by publishing the first Hebrew grammar and lexicon combined in 1506.* This return to the original text of the Old and New Testaments aroused the suspicions of the scholastics and monks, and the new learning was assailed with bitterness. Even Levita had to defend himself against the charge of heterodoxy for teaching Christians the Hebrew language, the law of Moses, and the Talmud.† But the reformers took their stand as one man for the critical study of the sacred Scriptures, and investigated the original texts under the lead of Erasmus, Elias Levita, and Reuchlin, and laid down what must be regarded as the fundamental principle of *Biblical Criticism* for the determination of the canon. Thus Luther in his controversy with Eck said, "The Church cannot give any more authority or power than it has of itself. A council cannot make that to be of Scripture which is not by nature of Scripture."‡ Calvin says:

"But there has very generally prevailed a most pernicious error that the Scriptures have only so much weight as is conceded to them by the suffrages of the Church, as though the eternal and inviolable truth of God depended on the arbitrary will of men." . . . "For, as God alone is a sufficient witness of Himself in His own

* Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Sprach.*, p. 106, *seq.*

† See his *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, edited by Ginsburg, London, 1867, p. 97, *seq.*

‡ *Disputatio excel. D. theolog. Joh. Ecclii. et Lutheri, hist.* III., 129, *seq.* Berger, *La Bible au Sixième Siècle*, Paris, 1879, p. 86.

Word, so also the Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit. It is necessary, therefore, that the same Spirit, who spake by the mouths of the prophets, should penetrate into our hearts, to convince us that they faithfully delivered the oracles which were divinely intrusted to them."*

This principle is well expressed in the 2d Helvetic Confession, the most honored in the Reformed church :

"We believe and confess the canonical Scriptures of the holy prophets to be the very true Word of God and to have sufficient authority of themselves, not of men" (Chap. I.). "Therefore in controversies of religion or matters of faith we cannot admit any other judge than God Himself, pronouncing by the holy Scriptures what is true and what is false; what is to be followed, or what is to be avoided" (Chap. II.).

The Gallican Confession gives a similar statement :

"We know these books to be canonical, and the sure rule of our faith, not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books" (IV. Art.).†

Thus while other testimony is valuable and important, yet, the evangelical test of the canonicity and interpretation of the Scriptures was, God Himself speaking in and through them to His people. This alone gave the *fides divina*. This was the so-called formal principle of the Reformation, no less important than the so-called material principle of justification by faith.‡

The reformers applied this critical test to the tradi-

* *Institutes*, I. 7.

† See also the *Belgian Confession*, Article V.

‡ Dörner, *Gesch. Prot. Theo.*, p. 234, seq., 379, seq. Julius Müller, *Das Verhältniss zwischen der Wirksamkeit des heil. Geistes und dem Gnademittel des göttlichen Wortes*, in his *Dogmat. Abhandlungen*, 1871, p. 139, seq. Reuss, *Histoire du Canon*, p. 308, seq.

tional theories of the Bible, and eliminated the apocryphal books from the canon. They also revived the ancient doubts as to Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Epistle of James, 2d Peter, Jude, and the Apocalypse. The Reformed symbols elaborated the formal principle further than the Lutheran, and ordinarily specified the books that they regarded as canonical. In this they rejected the traditions of the early Christian church which followed the Hellenistic rather than the Palestinian Jews, and, in its use of the Septuagint version, used also the apocryphal writings, and did not sharply separate them from the canonical; indeed, with the exception of a few critics, such as Origen and Jerome, it cited without discrimination the many Jewish apocalypses and Sibylline oracles which sprang up in the first and second centuries of our era, as well as in the first and second centuries B.C.* The church of Rome, in accordance with its reliance upon the support of tradition, determined the apocryphal books to be canonical at the Council of Trent. That the reformers accepted only the present canon of our symbols, excluding the apocryphal books, was not due to the Jewish tradition, which they did not hesitate to dispute, as they did that of the church itself. It is doubtless true† that the reformers fell back on the authority of Jerome in their determination of the canon, as they did largely upon Augustine for the doctrine of grace; but this was in both cases for support against Rome in authority which Rome recognized, rather than as a basis on which to rest their faith and criticism. They went further back than Jerome to

* Sanday, *Value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible*. *Expositor*, Feb., 1880. Davidson, *Canon*, p. 101, seq.

† Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 1881, p. 41.

the evangelical Christian and genuine Hebrew principle, of the common consent of the believing children of God, which in course of time eliminated the sacred canonical books from those of a merely national and temporary character, because they approved themselves to their souls as the very word of God. As Dr. Charteris says :

"The Council of Trent had formally thrown down a challenge. It recognized the canon because of the traditions of the Church, and on the same ground of tradition accepted the unwritten ideas about Christ and His apostles, of which the Church had been made the custodian. The reformers believed Scripture to be higher than the Church. But on what could they rest their acceptance of the canon of Scripture ? How did they know these books to be Holy Scriptures, the only and ultimate divine revelation ? They answered that the divine authority of Scripture is self-evidencing, that the regenerate man needs no other evidence, and that only the regenerate can appreciate the evidence. It follows from this, if he do not feel the evidence of their contents, any man may reject books claiming to be Holy Scripture." *

It is true this evangelical critical test did not solve all questions. It left in doubt several writings which had been regarded as doubtful for centuries. But uncertainty as to these does not weaken the authority of those that are recognized as divine; it only affects the *extent* of the canon, and not the *authority* of those writings regarded as canonical.

"Suppose we were not able to give positive proof of the divine inspiration of every particular Book that is contained in the Sacred Records, it does not therefore follow that it was not inspired ; and yet much less does it follow that our religion is without foundation. Which I therefore add, because it is well known there are some particular Books in our Bible that have at some times been doubted of in the church, whether they were inspired or no. But I cannot con-

* *The New Testament Scriptures ; their Claims, History, and Authority.* Croall Lectures, 1882. N. Y., 1883, p. 203.

ceive that doubt concerning such Books, where persons have suspended their assent, without casting any unbecoming reflections, have been a hindrance to their salvation, while what they have owned and acknowledged for truly divine, has had sanctifying effect upon their hearts and lives." *

This is the true Protestant position. For unless these books have given us their own testimony that they are divine and therefore canonical, we do not receive them with our hearts; we do not rest our faith and life upon them as the very Word of God; we give mere intellectual assent; we receive them on authority, tacitly and without opposition, and possibly with the dogmatism which not unfrequently accompanies incipient doubt, but also without true interest and true faith and assurance of their divine contents. We believe that the canon of Scripture established by the Reformed symbols can be successfully vindicated on Protestant critical principles. We are convinced that the church has not been deceived with regard to its inspiration. Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and the Apocalypse will more and more establish themselves in the hearts of those who study them. But we claim that it is illegitimate to first attempt to prove their *canonicity* and then their *inspiration*, or to rely upon Jewish rabbinical tradition any more than Roman Catholic tradition, or to anathematize all who doubt some of them in the spirit of Rabbi Akiba and the Council of Trent. The only legitimate method is that of our fathers, the Reformers and Puritans: first prove their inspiration from their own internal divine testimony, and then accept them as canonical because our souls rest upon them as the veritable divine word. "For he that believes that

* Ed. Calamy, *Inspiration of the Holy Writings*, Lond., 1710, p. 42.

God saith, without evidence that God saith it; doth not believe God, while he believes the thing that is from God, *et eadem ratione, si contiguisset Alcorano Turcico credidisset.*" *

The same critical principle was applied by the reformers to the text of Scripture. They rejected the inspiration of the ancient versions, the Greek and the Vulgate, and against the Greek and Roman churches resorted to the original text. They battled against the Vulgate version, in behalf of versions for the people, and for a simple grammatical exegesis against traditional authority and the manifold sense. They laid down the hermeneutical rule that the Spirit of God, speaking in His Word, alone could decide the meaning of the text; and that difficult passages must be interpreted by plain ones. In the various departments of exegesis they went diligently to work. Hebrew and Greek grammars, lexicons, texts, versions, and commentaries poured from the press. If the reformers were great dogmatic theologians, they were greater biblical scholars, and their theology was fresh, warm, and vigorous, because derived from a critical study of Scripture. The greatest dogmatic writer of the Reformation, John Calvin, was also its greatest exegete.†

So long as the controversy with Rome was active and energetic, and ere the counter-reformation set in, the Protestant critical principle maintained itself; but as the internal conflicts of Protestant churches began to absorb more and more attention, and the polemic with

* Whichcote, *Eight Letters of Dr. A. Tuckney and Benj. Whichcote*, 1733, p. III.

† Tholuck (*Vermischte Schriften*, II., 341) correctly describes him as distinguished alike for dogmatic impartiality, exegetical tact, many-sided scholarship, and deep Christian spirit.

Rome became less and less vigorous, the polemic against brethren more and more violent, the Reformed system of faith was built up by a series of scholastics over against Lutheranism, and Calvinistic orthodoxy over against Arminianism. The elaboration of the Protestant Reformed system by *a priori* deduction carried with it the pushing of the peculiar principles of Protestantism more and more into the background. The authority of the Reformed faith and tradition assumed the place of a Roman faith and tradition, and the biblical scholarship of Protestant churches, cut off from the line of Roman tradition, worked its way along the line of Jewish rabbinical tradition, and began to establish a Protestant orthodoxy—in the Swiss schools under the influence of Buxtorf, Heidegger and Francis Turretine; and in the Dutch schools under the influence of Voetius.

Lutheran theology had the same essential development through internal struggles. The school of Calixtus at Helmstädt had struggled with the scholastic spirit, until the latter had sharpened itself into the most radical antagonism to the Reformed church and the Melancthon type of Lutheran theology. Carlov stated the doctrine of verbal inspiration in the same essential terms as the Swiss scholastics, and was followed therein by the Lutheran scholastics generally.

"It treated Holy Scripture as the revelation itself, instead of as the memorial of the originally revealed, ideal, actual truth; the consequence being that Holy Scripture was transformed into God's exclusive work, the human element was explained away, and the original living power thrust away behind the writing contained in letters. Faith ever draws its strength and decisive certainty from the original eternally living power to which Scripture is designed to lead. But when Scripture was regarded as the goal, and attestation was sought elsewhere than in the experience of faith through the presence of truth in the Spirit, then the Reformation standpoint was

abandoned, its so-called material principle violated, and it became easy for Rationalism to expose the contradictions in which the inquirers had thus involved themselves." *

II. THE PURITAN CANON.

The Thirty-nine Articles take an intermediate position between the reformers and the Roman Catholic church in their doctrine of the canon :

"In the name of holy Scripture, we do understand those Canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." The 24 books of the Hieronymian canon of the Old Testament are then mentioned. It then continues : "And the other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners : but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine." It then names 14 apocryphal books, and concludes : "All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for Canonical." (Art. VI.).

The Thirty-nine Articles thus base themselves on the Hieronymian tradition as the Roman Catholic church did on the stronger Augustinian tradition.

The Scotch Confession of 1560, however, maintains the position of the reformers :

"As we beleeve and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfite, so do we affirme and avow the authoritie of the same to be of God, and nether to depend on men nor angelis. We affirme, therefore, that sik as allege the Scripture to have na uther authoritie bot that quhilk it hes received from the Kirk, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the trew Kirk, quhilk alwaies heares and obeyis the voice of her awin spouse and Pastor ; bot takis not upon her to be maistres over the samin." (Art. XIX.).

Thos. Cartwright, the chief of the English Puritans,² takes the same view :

* Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, Vol. II., p. 186.

"Q. How may these bookes be discerned to bee the word of God?

"A. By these considerations following :

"First, they are perfectly holy in themselves, and by themselves : whereas all other writings are prophane, further then they draw holinesse from these ; which yet is never such, but that their holinesse is imperfect and defective.

"Secondly, they are perfectly profitable in themselves, to instruct to salvation, and all other are utterly unprofitable thereunto, any further then they draw from them.

"Thirdly, there is a perfect concord and harmonie in all these Bookes, notwithstanding the diversity of persons by whom, places where, and time when, and matters whereof, they have been written.

"Fourthly, there is an admirable force in them, to incline men's hearts from vice to vertue.

"Fifthly, in great plainnesse and easinesse of stile, there shineth a great Majesty and authority.

"Sixthly, there is such a gracious simplicity in the writers of these Bookes, that they neither spare their friends, nor themselves, but most freely, and impartially, set downe their owne faults and infirmities as well as others.

"Lastly, God's owne Spirit working in the harts of his children doth assure them, that these Scriptures are the word of God."*

The Westminster Confession gives expression to the mature Puritan faith respecting the Scriptures :

§ 2. "Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testament, which are these" (mentioning the 66 books commonly received). "All which are given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life."

§ 3. "The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon of the Scripture ; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings."

§ 4. "The Authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God, (who is truth itself,) the au-

* Thos. Cartwright, *Treatise of the Christian Religion*. London, 1616.

thor thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the word of God."

§ 5. "We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the church to an high and reverent esteem for the Holy Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole, (which is to give all glory to God,) the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts." (L., § 2-5).

The Westminster Confession distinguishes in its statements (1) the external evidence, the testimony of the church; (2) the internal evidence of the Scriptures themselves; (3) the *fides divina*. Here is an ascending series of evidences for the authority of the Scriptures. The *fides humana* belongs strictly only to the first class of evidences. This testimony of the church is placed first in the Confession because it is weakest. The second class not only gives *fides humana*, but also *divina*, owing to the complex character of the Scriptures themselves; but the third class as the highest gives purely *fides divina*. The Confession carefully discriminates the *weight* of these evidences. The authority of the church only induces "an high and reverent esteem for the Holy Scripture." The internal evidence of the "excellencies and entire perfection thereof are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God"; but our "full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof" come only from the highest evidence, "the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word

in our hearts." In accordance with this, "The authority of the Holy Scripture dependeth wholly upon God" (§ 4). On this principle, then, the canon is determined. The books of the canon are named (§ 2), and then it is said, "All which are given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life." The apocryphal books are no part of the canon of Scripture because they are not of divine inspiration (§ 3). It is, therefore, the authority of God himself, speaking through the Holy Spirit, by and with the word to the heart, that determines that the writings are infallible as the inspired Word of God, and it is their inspiration that determines their canonicity.

Thus the Westminster divines maintained the Reformation point of view. They were not as a body scholastics, though there were scholastics among them; but were preachers, catechists, and expositors of the Scriptures, with a true evangelical spirit. They were called from the active work of the ministry, and from stubborn resistance to dogmatic authority, to the active work of reforming the church of England into closer conformity with the Reformed churches of the continent. Among the doctrines to be reformed was the doctrine respecting the Scriptures. There was a difference between the Puritans and Prelatists on this subject, as we have seen, in placing the XXXIX Articles alongside of the Scottish Confession and the statement of Thos. Cartwright. This difference was still further developed. The Prelatical view is stated by Bishop Cosin:*

"For though there be many *Internal Testimonies* belonging to the Holy Scriptures, whereby we may be sufficiently assured, that they are the true and lively oracles of God, . . . yet for the particular and just *number of such books*, whether they be more or less,

* *Scholastic History of the Canon.* London, 1657, p. 4, *seq.*

then either *some private persons*, or some *one particular church* of late, have been pleased to make them, we have no better nor other *external* rule or testimony herein to guide us, then the constant voice of the *catholic* and *universal church*, as it hath been delivered to us upon *record* from one generation to another."

The Puritans in the Westminster Assembly in revising Article VI. of the XXXIX Articles, erased the statements upon which the Prelatists built: "Of whose authority was never any doubt in the church"; "And the other books (as Hierome saith) the church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine." And they changed the statement: "All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for canonical"; so as to express the Puritan doctrine: "All which books, as they are commonly received, we do receive and acknowledge them to be given by the inspiration of God; and in that regard, to be of the most certain credit, and highest authority."

Chas. Herle, the Prolocutor, admirably states the Protestant position over against the Romish:

"They (the Papists) being asked, why they believe the *Scripture* to be the *Word of God*? Answer, because the *Church* says 'tis so; and being asked againe, why they beleeeve the Church? They answer, because the *Scripture* saies it *shall be guided into truth*; and being asked againe, why they beleeeve that very Scripture that says so? They answer, because the *Church* says 'tis *Scripture*, and so (with those in the Psalm xii. 8), they walk in a *circle* or on *every side*. They charge the like on us (but wrongfully) that we beleeeve the *Word*, because it sayes it self that it is so; but we do not so resolve our *Faith*; we *believe unto salvation*, not the *Word* barely, because it witnesses to itself, but because the *Spirit* speaking in it to our *consciences* witnesses to them that it is the Word indeed; we resolve not our *Faith* barely either into the *Word*, or *Spirit* as its

single ultimate *principle*, but into the testimony of the *Spirit* speaking to our *consciences* in the Word." *

It has been objected by a recent writer :

"It does not tend in the slightest degree to reconcile us to these opinions to say that the reformers entertained them. It would not be strange if in their opposition to the claims of the church of Rome, they went to the opposite extreme and were in danger of falling into the errors of the mystics." †

It is true that in this matter the reformers and Puritans were in radical opposition to Rome. This was the so-called *formal principle*, one of the essential principles of Protestantism. If they had not taken this position they would have been powerless against the Roman claim of tradition.

As Reuss well says :

"Nothing was more foreign to the spirit of Luther, of Calvin, and their illustrious fellow-laborers, nothing was more radically contrary to their principles, than to base the authority of the sacred scriptures upon that of the Church and its tradition, to go in effect, to mount guard over the fathers, and range their catalogues in line, cause their obscurities to disappear by forced interpretations and their contradictions by doing violence to them, as is the custom of our day. They very well knew that this would have been the highest inconsistency, indeed the ruin of their system, to attribute to the church the right of making the Bible after they had contested that of making the doctrine ; for that which can do the greater can do the less." ‡

It is true that the mystic element was strong among the reformers and the Puritans. This is indeed the chief feature which distinguishes them from the Swiss, Dutch, and Lutheran scholastics and their modern followers.

* *Deus Sapiens*, pp. 152-3. London, 1655.

† Francis L. Patton, article, *Pentateuchal Criticism*, *Presbyterian Review* IV., p. 346.

‡ Reuss, *Histoire du Canon*, p. 313.

But their mystic was not mysticism. There never have been times in the history of the church when mysticism prevailed in such a variety of forms and persistence of energy as in the times of the Reformation and of the Westminster divines. They had to guard their doctrines at every point against mysticism. It is strange reading of history to represent either the reformers or the Puritans as going too far in the direction of mysticism.

The statements of the Westminster divines were made in the face of the strongest force of mysticism that has ever manifested itself. Thus, in 1647, the London ministers (many of whom were members of the Westminster Assembly) issued their testimony against this false mysticism and the heresies of their time. They mention as

** Errors against the Divine Authority of the Holy Scripture, That the Scripture, whether true Manuscript or no, whether Hebrew, Greek, or English, it is but human ; so not able to discover a divine God. Then where is your command to make that your rule or discipline, that cannot reveal you God, nor give you power to walk with God? That, it is no foundation of Christian Religion, to believe that the English Scriptures, or that book, or rather volume of books called the Bible, translated out of the originall Hebrew and Greek copies, into the English tongue are the Word of God. That, questionless no writing whatsoever, whether translations or originalls, are the foundation of Christian Religion."**

Wm. Lyford, an esteemed Presbyterian divine, invited to sit in the Westminster Assembly, but preferring his pastoral work, wrote a commentary on this testimony of the London ministers.†

** A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ and to our solemn League and Covenant. Subscribed by the ministers of Christ within the Province of London, Dec. 14, 1647. London, 1648.*

† *The Plain man's sense exercised to discern good and evil, or A Discovery*

In his chapter on the *Divine Authority of Scripture*, he says :

"I shall not trouble you with the Popish controversies concerning the Scripture, but apply myself to the errors of the present age." He then quotes the language from the *Testimony* given above. He then goes on to give the properties of Scripture, and after brief mention of the error of making "the Church the judge over Scriptures" (p. 7), he says: "But the error I am now to deale with, is that of the blasphemous *Anti-Scripturist*, under which name I comprehend all such as either deny them to be divinely inspired and given of God, or else allowing their divine authority, yet refuse to submit to Scripture as the supreme and all-sufficient Judge, pretending to other divine revelations, besides and beyond the written word, unto which upon all occasions they appeal, as if the Scriptures were not able to acquaint the soul with the highest discoveries of God's truth and mind. If they be urged with any proof out of the Old Testament, they reject it, as if the Old Testament were antiquated, and out of date: if they be pressed with a place in the New Testament, then they say, that is not the meaning, which we produce because (say they) you have not the spirit, the spirit teacheth us otherwise. And thus under pretence of Inspirations of the Holy Ghost, and improvements beyond and above all Scripture, they strike at the root, and blow up the very foundations of all faith and religion, of all our hopes and comforts; these are the devill's engincers—." (p. 17).

Our author knows how to steer between the Scylla of Romanism and the Charybdis of mysticism. The reformers and Puritans knew their work better than some of our modern theologians.

"It is one thing to say the Spirit teacheth us by Scripture, and another thing to pretend the Spirit's teaching besides or beyond, or contrary to the Scripture; the one is a divine truth, the other is vile *montanism*" (p. 20).

After controverting the "fourfold error: (1) of them

of the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, and the Toleration of them, as they are collected and testified against by the ministers of London, in their Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ. London, 1655.

that would place this authority (of scripture) in the Church; (2) of them who appeale from scripture to the spirit; (3) of them that make reason the supreme Judge; (4) of them that expound scripture according to Providences," he goes on to expound the position of our Protestant symbols:

"The authority and truth of God speaking in the Scripture, is that upon which our faith is built, and doth finally stay itself: The ministry of the Church, the illumination of the Spirit, the right use of reason are the choicest helps, by which we believe, by which we see the law and will of God; but they are not the law itself; the divine truth and authority of God's word, is that which doth secure our consciences. . . . If you ask what it is that I believe? I answer, I believe the blessed doctrines of salvation by Jesus Christ; if you ask, why I believe all this, and why I will venture my soul to all eternity on that doctrine? I answer, because it is the revealed will of God concerning us. If you ask further, How I know that God hath revealed them? I answer, by a two-fold certainty; one of faith, the other of experience; (1) I do infallibly by faith believe the Revelation, not upon the credit of any other Revelation, but for itself, the Lord giving testimony thereunto, not only by the constant Testimony of the Church, which cannot universally deceive, nor only by miracles from heaven, bearing witness to the Apostle's doctrine, but chiefly by its own proper divine light, which shines therein. The truth contained in Scripture is a light, and is discerned by the sons of light: It doth by its own light, persuade us, and in all cases, doubts, and questions, it doth clearly testifie with us or against us; which light is of that nature, that it giveth Testimony to itself, and receiveth authority from no other, as the Sun is not seene by any light but his own, and we discerne sweet from soure by its own taste. . . . (2) Whereunto add, that other certainty of experience, which is a certainty in respect of the Affections and of the spiritual man. This is the Spirit's seal set to God's truth (namely), the light of the word; when it is thus shewnen unto us, it doth work such strange and supernatural effects upon the soul; . . . It persuades us of the truth and goodness of the will of God; and of the things revealed; and all this by way of spiritual taste and feeling, so that the things apprehended by us in divine knowledge, are more certainly discerned

in the certainty of experience, than anything is discerned in the light of naturall understanding " (p. 39).

"They that are thus taught, doe know assuredly that they have heard God himselfe: In the former way, the light of Divine Reason causeth approbation of the things they believe. In the later, the Purity and power of Divine Knowledge, causeth a taste and feeling of the things they heare And they that are thus established in the Faith, doe so plainly see God present with them in his Word, that if all the world should be turned into Miracles, it could not remove them from the certainty of their perswasion; you cannot unperswade a Christian of the truth of his Religion, you cannot make him thinke meanly of Christ, nor the Doctrine of Redemption, nor of duties of Sanctification, his heart is fixed trusting in the Lord. So then we conclude, that the true reason of our Faith, and ground, on which it finally stayeth itself, is the Authority of God himself, whom we doe most certainly discerne, and feele to speake in the word of faith, which is preached unto us " (p. 39.)

This is the true doctrine of the Reformation and of the Westminster divines, in which they know no antagonism between the human reason, the religious feeling, and the Divine Spirit in the Word of God. It is a merciful Providence that they were guided to this position, for, if they had gone with the Swiss scholastics in basing themselves on rabbinical tradition as to the Old Testament, they would have committed the churches of the Reformation to errors that have long since been exploded by scholars. This is the true Puritan mystic in conflict with mysticism and its best antidote. It is the mystic element that needs above all things to be revived in the British and American churches. It brings the people face to face with the Bible and with the Divine Spirit working in and with it, so that they need no mediating priesthood of theologians, no help of apologetics or of polemics to convince them of the authority of the Bible and enable them to maintain it against all cavilling.

It is also objected that this resting upon the *fides divina*

for the proof of the inspiration and canonicity of the Scripture implies that "every Christian makes his own Bible."^a True, but this right of private judgment is the Protestant position. Are we prepared to abandon it? Shall it be maintained with reference to other doctrines and abandoned with reference to the *source* of these doctrines? This would be a fatal inconsistency to Protestantism. The right of private judgment must apply to the authority, inspiration, and canonicity of Scripture, as well as to the doctrines of atonement, justification by faith, and original sin. It is no more difficult of application in the one case than the others. It may be an unfamiliar practice to those who rest on the authority of the church for the authority of Scripture. But it is no more unfamiliar to them than the right of private judgment itself is unfamiliar to those who rest upon the authority of an infallible church for all doctrines. The right of private judgment with reference to the authority of a book of Scripture no more prevents the consensus of individuals in a confession of faith on this subject than on any other. It is important that the individual Christian should have his own convictions on all of these subjects. The consensus of such Christians who know what they believe is much stronger than the consensus of those who rest merely upon the external authority of the testimony of the church. We accept the doctrine of the Westminster Confession with reference to the Bible, because it coincides with our convictions and experience with reference to the Bible. We would not subscribe to it otherwise. Our faith in divine things rests upon divine and not on human authority.

It is still further objected that, "If, however, canon-

^a F. L. Patton in *N. C.*, p. 350.

icity be, as we believe it is, a purely historical question, it is only in a very limited way that subjective tests can be employed in determining it."* If canonicity be a purely historical question, then the reformers and the Westminster Confession and the other reformed creeds were in error when they made it purely a question of inspiration and of the internal divine authority of the Scriptures themselves. To abandon this position is to accept essentially the Roman Catholic position. The difference then amounts to this: At what historic point shall we stand, or on what historic names shall we base our faith in the canon? Shall we go with Rome and base the canon on the authority of the living church as the heir of Catholic tradition, or shall we go with the XXXIX Articles and rely on the authority of Jerome and the Jewish assembly at Jamnia, or shall we accept the consensus of the Ante-Nicene church and share their doubts as well as their certainties? Whichever of these positions we may take, we still build on uncertain and fallible authority, and dishonor the sufficiency and authority of the Scriptures themselves. We violate one of the Reformation principles upon which our Protestantism depends, and the most consistent course would be to follow Cardinal Newman in his pathway to Rome.

III. CRITICISM OF THE CANON.

It is all the more necessary to apply to the canon the critical test established by the reformers, now that we are much better informed as to the relation of the Jews to the canon than they were. The New Testament writers and the fathers generally depended upon the Septuagint

* F. L. Patton in *I. c.*, p. 349.

version of the Old Testament. The story of its translation by means of seventy-two accomplished scholars chosen from the twelve tribes of Israel, with the co-operation of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and the Jewish high-priest of Jerusalem, and inspired to do their work by the Divine Spirit,—which prevailed for many centuries in the Eastern and Western churches,—has been traced to its simpler form in Josephus* and Philo,† and from these to the original letter of Aristeas, and that has been proved to be a forgery‡ and its statements wide of the truth. For an internal examination of the translation itself proves it to have been made by different men on different principles and at different times.

Frankel is followed by a large number of scholars in the opinion that it was a sort of Greek Targum which grew up gradually at first from the needs of the synagogue worship, and then from the desire of the Hellenistic Jews to collect together the religious literature of their nation, as the Palestinian and Babylonian Targums were subsequently made for the Jews speaking Aramaic.§

Some of the sacred books—such as Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah—have additional matter not found in the Hebrew Massoretic text. The apocryphal writings are mingled with those taken into the Hebrew canon without discrimination. As Deane | says :

“ If we judge from the MSS. that have come down to us, it would be impossible for any one, looking merely to the Septuagint version and

* *Antiq.* XII. 2.

† *Vita Mosis*, II., § 5-7.

‡ The original text of the letter is best given in Merz., *Archiv für Wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, I., p. 242, *seq.* Halle, 1870.

§ Frankel, *Vorstudien z. d. Septuaginta*, Leipzig, 1841; Scholtz, *Alexand. Uebersetz. d. Buch Iesaias*, 1880, p. 7, *seq.*

| *Book of Wisdom*, Oxford, 1881, p. 37, *seq.*

its allied works, to distinguish any of the books in the collection as of less authority than others. There is nothing whatever to mark off the canonical writings from what have been called the deuterocanonical. They are all presented as of equal standing and authority, and, if we must make distinctions between them, and place some on a higher platform than others, this separation must be made on grounds which are not afforded by the arrangement of the various documents themselves."

The scholastics depend upon the tradition that the Old Testament canon was determined by the so-called men of the great synagogue. They rely for this upon Elias Levita* and the long Jewish tradition that goes back to a slender support in the Misnaic tract, *Aboth* (I. 1-2).† But back of this there is no historical evidence whatever. The silence of all the writings from the first century A.D. backwards is absolute. They could not have omitted to mention such a body as this if it ever had an existence, and determined the canon and everything else upon which the Jewish religion depended. The Apocryphal Literature, in its wide and varied extent, knows of no such body. The numerous pseudepigraphical writers are also silent. Philo and Josephus know of nothing of the kind. The New Testament writers do not recognize it. On the other hand, the apocalypse of Ezra, from the first century A.D., represents the whole canon as determined by Ezra, who committed the whole to writing by divine inspiration.‡ How could it do so in the face of the great synagogue? There are well-established disputes as to the canon among the Jews in the first Christian century which

* *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, edited by Ginsburg, 1867, p. 112, *seq.*

† Strack, *Die Sprüche der Väter; Ein ethischer Mischna-Traktat*, Karlsruhe, 1882. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Cambridge, 1877.

‡ XIV. 19, *seq.*

could not have taken place if a venerable body like the supposed men of the great synagogue had determined everything. This tradition must go with the letter of Aristeeas out of the field of history into the realm of shadowy and unsupported legends.

Another evidence for the fixture of the Old Testament canon has been found in a supposed writing of Philo of the first Christian century.* This work speaks of the law, the prophets, hymns, and other writings, making either three or four classes, but without specification of particular books. But this writing has recently been proved to have been written in the third century A.D., and wrongly attributed to Philo.† The position has been accepted by scholars,‡ and is invincibly established. The testimony of Philo is therefore reduced to the books that he quotes, as of divine authority. He omits to mention Nehemiah, Ruth, Esther, Chronicles, Ezekiel, Lamentations, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs.§ He uses Proverbs and Job. This we would expect from Philo's type of thought and the subject-matter of his writings. But his omission of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs is surprising. These writings belong to the same class of wisdom-literature as Job and Proverbs. They would have given him the very best field for his peculiar method of allegory. The omission in this case weighs against them. Ezekiel and Daniel, the symbolical prophets, we would expect him to make use of. Josephus | mentions 22 books as making up his canon—5 of the law, 13 of the prophets, and 4 of poems and precepts, but

* *De Vita Contemp.*, s. III.

† Lucius, *Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Achaese*, Strassburg, 1882.

‡ Strack, art. *Kanon* in Herzog, II. Aufl., vii., p. 425.

§ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, 3te, Ausgabe, 1803, I., p. 98.

| *Contra Apion*, I., 8.

does not define which they are. He uses all of the Talmudic canon except Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Job.* The silence of Josephus as to these cannot be pressed, because they did not clearly come within his scope. Various efforts have been made to determine his books, but without conclusive results. The lists of subsequent writers have been used. Here, if on the one hand the lists of Origen and Jerome favor the Talmudic, the list of Junilius Africanus favors the exclusion of Chronicles, Ezra, Job, Song of Songs, and Esther.† Graetz‡ seems to us to come nearer the mark in excluding the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes from the list of Josephus. He falls, then, by his 22, just these two short of the Talmudic list of 24. We are left by Josephus in uncertainty as to certain Old Testament books. Moreover, the statements of Josephus do not carry with them our confidence as to the views of the men of his time; for we know that several books were in dispute among the Pharisees, such as Ezekiel, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. They were generally, but not unanimously acknowledged. The Sadducees are said by some of the fathers to have agreed with the Samaritans in rejecting all but the Pentateuch. This must be a mistake. But we can hardly believe that they accepted Ezekiel and Daniel in view of their denial of angels and the resurrection. The Essenes and the Zelots agreed in extending the canon to *esoteric writings*. The apocalypse of Ezra mentions 70 of these as given to Ezra to interpret the 24, and so of even greater authority. These parties

* Elchhorn in *l. c.*, I., p. 123.

† See Prof. Kihn, *Theodors von Mopsuestia und Julius Africanus als Exegeten*, Frei., 1880, p. 86.

‡ *Gesch. d. Juden*, III., p. 501, Leipzig, 1863.

differ from the Pharisees only in that they committed the esoteric wisdom to writing, whereas the Pharisees handed it down as an infallible tradition, and prohibited the committing it to writing, until at last it found embodiment in the *Misnayoth* and the Talmuds.

The eminent Jewish scholar, Zunz, is correct in his statement: "Neither Philo nor Josephus impart to us an authentic list of the sacred writings."* It seems clear that the Jewish canon was not definitely settled until the assembly at Jamnia, during the Jewish war with Titus (about 70 A.D.), and the decisions were carried through by a majority of votes, accompanied with acts of violence toward the dissenting parties.† We doubt not that the canon of the Palestinian Jews received its latest addition by common consent not later than the time of Judas Maccabeus,‡ and no books of later composition were added afterward; yet the schools of the Pharisees continued the debate with reference to some of these writings until the assembly at Jamnia, and the Hellenistic Jews had a wider and freer conception of the canon.§ We cannot rely upon the determination of the canon of the Old Testament by the authority of the Pharisees, who, after the rejection of the true Messiah, brought on the ruin of their nation in the Jewish war. We cannot yield to the authority of Rabbi Akiba, the supporter of *Bar Khokba*, the false messiah, and his coadjutors, any more on this

* *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, p. 18.

† Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, 1863, III., p. 495, *seq.*; Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, N. Y., 1881, p. 172, *seq.*, and 412 *seq.*; S. Ives Curtiss in *Current Discussions in Theology*, p. 63; see also the Misnaic tract, *Yadaim*, III. 5.

‡ Strack, Herzog, *Real Encyk.*, II. Aufl., vii., p. 426; Ewald, *Lekre d. Bibel von Gott*, I., p. 363.

§ Ewald in *l. c.*, p. 364.

subject of the canon than we can accept their dicta with regard to Jesus Christ, the observance of the Sabbath, or the faith of ancient Israel.

Nor does the New Testament determine the canon of the Old. Jesus gives His authority to the law, the prophets, and the psalms (Luke xxiv. 44), which alone were used in the synagogue in His times; but the psalms only of the Hagiographa are mentioned. There are no sufficient reasons for concluding that by the psalms Jesus meant all the other books besides law and prophets.

The New Testament uses for the Old Testament the following general terms: (1) the term *scriptures* for the whole (Acts xvii. 2; xvii. 11; xviii. 24; xviii. 28); or *sacred writings* (2 Tim. iii. 15); (2) *law* (John x. 34 referring to the Psalter; xii. 34 referring to several passages of the prophets; xv. 25 to the Psalter; 1 Cor. xiv. 21 to Isaiah); (3) *prophets* (Luke xxiv. 25; Acts xiii. 27); (4) *law and prophets* (Matt. v. 17; Acts xiii. 15), *Moses and prophets* (Luke xvi. 29, 31; xxiv. 27; Acts xxvi. 22); *law of Moses and the prophets* (Acts xxviii. 23); (5) *law of Moses and prophets and psalms* (Luke xxiv. 44). This fluctuation shows that in the minds of the writers of the New Testament there was no definite division known as law, prophets, and other writings.* Indeed the New Testament carefully abstains from using the writings disputed among the Jews. It does not use at all Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah;

* The statement of the prologue of *Ecclesiasticus* or the *Wisdom of Sirach* as to the three classes: "Law, Prophets, and other books of our fathers," does not prove that the last was a technical term of a special class. How could Josephus have given such a different arrangement of the writings from that found anywhere else, if that had been the case? How could he have given up the technical "other writings," and used *hymns, etc.*? The term, other writings, to Sirach means nothing more than an indefinite number which did not belong to the classes law and prophets.

and only incidentally Ezekiel and Chronicles in the same way as apocryphal books and the pseudepigraphical are used. Was this silence discretionary, in order to build only on books recognized by all, or does it rule from the canon those books so ignored? *

Prof. Charteris† says:

"It may be a mere coincidence, but it is at least noteworthy, that the only books of the Old Testament not quoted in the New are the three books of the writings of Solomon, Esther and Ezra and Nehemiah. Ezra and Nehemiah are historical books, which there was probably no occasion to quote: but the other four unquoted books—Esther, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles—are those books which were not accepted by all at the time of our Lord."

We shall confine ourselves to the same competent authority for a summary as to the canon of the New Testament: ‡

"We see that there were other books accepted by most, but not with the same heartiness by all; and the notes we have made on earlier lists have prepared us to learn what these books were. They are James and Jude, 2d Peter, and 2d and 3d John. Some add the Apocalypse of John. All these books, save James, were wanting in the New Testament of the Syriac Church, which being the earliest collection of Christian Scriptures for the East, had great influence on the views of all the Oriental Churches for which Eusebius was specially qualified to speak. When we turn to the Western or Latin Church, we find that James was probably omitted in the old Italic collection current in Africa, and that 2d Peter certainly was. What Eusebius, therefore, tells us with his usual candid trustfulness, is what we should have known from those other sources; and it may be regarded as established beyond dispute."

The criticism of the canon has thus determined a gen-

* Eichhorn in *I. c.*, I., p. 104.

† *The New Testament Scriptures: Their Claims, History, and Authority*, Croall Lectures for 1882. New York, 1882, p. 82.

‡ In *I. c.*, p. 169.

eral consent to the most of the books defined as canonical in the Reformed creeds, and that with regard to those others about which there has always been dispute, the preponderance of testimony is in their favor. The books of primary and secondary authority have kept the same relative position. Those doubted among the Jews were doubted by Christians. Those doubted in the early church were doubted by the reformers, and are doubted by some critics now. In giving our testimony to the canonicity of all the books specified in the Reformed creeds, we do it on the principles of criticism laid down by the reformers and tested by the fires of modern investigation. But we recognize that the evidence for some is less than for others.

The conflicts of conformists and non-conformists, and the struggle between evangelical faith and deism in Great Britain, and of scholasticism with pietism on the continent, caused the scholastics to antagonize more and more the human element in the Scriptures, and to assert the external authority of traditional opinions and Protestant orthodoxy, over the reason, the conscience, and the religious feeling; while the apologists, following the deists into the field of the external arguments for and against the religion and doctrines of the Bible, built up a series of external evidences which are strong and powerful, and which did, in fact, overcome the deists intellectually, or rather drive them into atheism and pantheism; but at the expense of vital piety in the Church—the true Puritan inheritance; for the stronger *internal* evidence was neglected. The dogmatists forgot the caution of Calvin: “Those persons betray great folly who wish it to be demonstrated to infidels, that the Scripture is the Word of God, which cannot be known

without faith" * and exposed the church to the severe criticism of Dodwell :

"To give all men Liberty to judge for themselves and to expect at the same time that they shall be of the preacher's mind, is such a scheme for unanimity as one would scarce imagine any one would be weak enough to devise in speculation, and much less that any could ever prove hardy enough to avow and propose to practice," †

and led some to the conclusion that there was an "irreconcilable repugnance in their natures betwixt reason and belief." ‡

The efforts of the more evangelical type of thought which passed over from the Puritans into the Cambridge men, and the Presbyterians of the type of Baxter and Calamy, to construct an evangelical doctrine of the reason and the religious feeling in accordance with Protestant principles, failed for the time, and the movement died away, or passed over into the merely liberal and comprehensive scheme, or assumed an attitude of indifference between the contending parties. The Protestant rule of faith was sharpened more and more, especially among the Independents, and the separating Presbyterian churches of Scotland, after the fashion of John Owen, rather than of the Westminster divines ; whilst the apologists pressed more and more the dogmatic method of demonstration over against criticism. §

The Reformed faith and evangelical religion were about to be extinguished when, in the Providence of God, the Puritan vital and experimental religion was revived in Methodism which devoted itself to Christian life, and so proved the saving element in modern British and American Christianity. The churches of the continent of

* *Institutes*, VIII., 13.

† *In l. c.*, p. 80.

‡ *Religion not founded on Argument*, p. 90, seq.

§ *Lechler, Gesch. d. Deismus*, 1841, p. 411, seq.

Europe were allowed, in the Providence of God, to meet the full force of rationalism and pay the penalty of the criminal blunders of the scholastics. Schleiermacher was raised up to be the father of modern evangelical German theology. He began to recover the lost ground and to build the structure of modern theology in the true mystic spirit on the religious feeling apprehending Jesus Christ as Saviour. A series of intellectual giants have carried on his work, such as Neander, Tholuck, Rothe, Müller, and Dorner.

It is not safe to follow these foreign divines in all their methods and statements. These depend upon the century of conflict which lies back of them and through which we have not passed. British and American theology has its own peculiar principles, methods, and work to perform. It is rapidly approaching the crisis of its history, the same essentially that German theology had to meet at the close of the eighteenth century. The tide of thought has ebbed and flowed between Great Britain and the continent several times since the Reformation. The tide has set strongly now in our direction. It is perilous to follow the blind guides of British and American scholasticism, and fall in the ditch that lies in their path (Matt. xv. 14). It is wise to learn from the experience of those who have passed through the conflict and achieved the victory. It is prudent to do all that is possible to prevent the ruin to American Christianity that is sure to come if we commit the old blunders over again. It is our conviction that the revival of true evangelical religion, and the successful progress of the theology of our Reformed churches, in the working out of the principles inherited from the Reformation, depend upon a speedy reaction from the scholastic theology of the Zurich Consensus and the Puritanism of John Owen, and

an immediate renewal of the evangelical life and unfettered thought of the Reformation and the Puritans of the first half of the seventeenth century.

It has become more and more evident since Semler* reopened the question of the canon of Scripture, that the only safe position for evangelical men is to build on the rock of the Reformation principle of the Scriptures. This principle has been enriched in two directions—first by the study of the unity and harmony of the Scriptures as an organic whole, and second by the apprehension of the relation of the faith of the individual to the consensus of the churches. The principles on which the canon of Scripture is to be determined are, therefore, these: (1) The testimony of the church, going back by tradition and written documents to primitive times, presents probable evidence to all men that the Scriptures, recognized as of divine authority and canonical by such general consent, are indeed what they are claimed to be.

(2) The Scriptures themselves, in their pure and holy character, satisfying the conscience; their beauty, harmony, and majesty satisfying the æsthetic taste; their simplicity and fidelity to truth, together with their exalted conceptions of man, of God, and of history, satisfying the reason and the intellect; their piety and devotion to the one God, and their revelation of redemption, satisfying the religious feelings and deepest needs of mankind—all conspire to more and more convince that they are indeed sacred and divine books.

(3) The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the particular writing, or part of writing, in the heart of the believer, removing every doubt and assuring the soul of its possession of the truth of God, the rule and guide of the life.

* *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanon.* 4 Bde., 1777-1787

(4) The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the several writings in such a manner as to assure the believer in the study of them that they are the several parts of one complete divine revelation, each writing having its own appropriate and indispensable place and importance in the organism of the canon.

(5) The Spirit of God bears witness to the church as an organized body of such believers, through their free consent in various communities and countries and centuries, to this unity and variety of the Scriptures as the one complete and perfect canon of the divine word to the church.

And thus the human testimony, the external evidence, attains its furthest possible limit as probable evidence, bringing the inquirer to the Scriptures with a high and reverent esteem of them, when the internal evidence exerts its powerful influence upon his soul, and at length the divine testimony lays hold of his entire nature and convinces and assures him of the truth of God and causes him to share in the consensus of the Christian church.

"Thus the Canon explains and judges itself; it needs no foreign standard. Just so the Holy Spirit evokes in believers a judgment, or criticism, which is not subjective, but in which freedom and fidelity are combined. The criticism and interpretation, which faith exercises, see its object not from without, as foreign, or as traditional, or as in bondage, but from within, and abiding in its native element becomes more and more at home while it ascribes to every product of apostolic men its place and proper canonical worth."^f "True faith sees in the letter of the documents of Revelation the religious content brought to an immutable objectivity which is able to attest itself as truth by the divine Spirit, which can at once warm and quicken the letter in order to place the living God-man before the eyes of the believer." *

* Dörner, *System der Christlichen Glaubenslehre*, Berlin, 1879, I., pp. 667 seq.; *System of Christian Doctrine*, Edin., 1881, II., p. 229, seq.

The reason, the conscience, and the religious feeling, all of which have arisen during these discussions of the last century into a light and vigor unknown and unanticipated at the Reformation, should not be antagonized the one with the other, or with the Spirit of God, but will all be included in that act and habit of faith by which we apprehend the Word of God. These cannot be satisfied with the external authority of scholars or schools, of Church or State, of tradition or human testimony, however extensive, but only by a divine authority on which they can rest with certainty. Men will recognize the canonical writings as their Bible, only in so far as they may be able to rise through them as external media to the presence of their divine Master, who reigns in and by the Word, which is holy and divine, in so far and to that extent that it evidently sets Him forth.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

BIBLICAL Criticism suffered an eclipse in the 17th century among the reformed scholastics of Switzerland and Holland, but maintained itself in France and among the Puritans of Great Britain, where the conflict with Rome continued as a life and death struggle. The reformed scholastics and the Lutheran scholastics alike fell back upon Jewish rabbinical tradition and formulated that tradition in Protestant forms of scholasticism and with hair-splitting results. The reformers had given their chief attention to the criticism of the canon, the establishment of the sole authority of the Scripture, and to its proper interpretation, but they had not overlooked the criticism of the text. With reference to the Old Testament, they had been chiefly influenced by two Jewish scholars, the one Elias Levita, who lived and died in the Jewish faith, the other Jacob ben Chajim, who became a Christian. Chajim edited the second edition of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible and issued an elaborate introduction to it. He also edited, for the first time, the *Massora*. It was a common opinion among the Jews that the vowel points and accents of the Hebrew Scriptures came down from Ezra, and even Moses and Adam. Levita explodes these traditions by the following simple line of argument :

"The vowel points and the accents did not exist either before Ezra or in the time of Ezra or after Ezra till the close of the Talmud. And I shall prove this with clear and conclusive evidence (1) In all the writings of our Rabbins of blessed memory, whether the Talmud, or the Hagadah, or the Midrash, there is not to be found any mention whatever of, or any allusion to the vowel points or accents." (2) and (3) The Talmud in its use of the Bible discusses how the words should be read and how divided. This is inconsistent with an accented official text. (4) "Almost all the names of both the vowel points and the accents are not Hebrew, but Aramean and Babylonian." *

I. TEXTUAL CRITICISM IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The reformers rejected the inspiration of the Massoretic traditional pointing and only accepted the unpointed text. Luther does not hesitate to speak of the points as new human inventions about which he does not trouble himself, and says, "I often utter words which strongly oppose these points," and "they are most assuredly not to be preferred to the simple, correct, and grammatical sense." † He goes to work with the best text he can find to give the Word of God to the people. So Calvin ‡ acknowledged that they were the result of great diligence and sound tradition, yet to be used with care and selection. Zwingli gave great value to the LXX and the version of Jerome, and disputed the Massoretic signs. § Though searching for the nearest grammatical and logical sense, they were not anxious as to the inspiration of the grammar or the logic of the authors. Luther does not hesitate to dispute the validity of Paul's argument in Galatians iv. 22, *seq.*; Calvin does

* *Levita, Massoroth Ha-Massoroth*, edited by Ginsburg, p. 127, *seq.* London, 1867.

† *Com. on Gen.* xlvii. 31; *on Isaiah* ix. 6.

‡ *Com. on Zech.* xi. 7.

§ *Opera ed. Schult.*, V., p. 356, *seq.*

not meet the objection that Paul violently and inaptly wrested the words of Moses and David, by showing that he gives the meaning, syllable by syllable, but represents the apostle as polishing and embellishing and applying the words to his own purposes.* He is not anxious about the error of Matthew xxvii. 9, in the citation of Jeremiah instead of Zechariah. So Luther points out two errors or slips of memory in the discourse of Stephen, Acts vii. The reformers laid down no theory of inspiration, such as would cover accent and letter, word, logic, and grammar. They regarded the external word as the instrument; they sought the sense, the infallible Divine Word contained in the Scriptures, applied by the Holy Spirit to their souls.†

It is astonishing how far the Swiss Protestant divines had allowed themselves to drift away from this position of liberty, and how greatly they had entangled themselves once more in the bonds of traditionalism. This was chiefly due to another Jewish scholar, Azzariah de Rossi,‡ who claims, to use the concise statement of Dr. Ginsburg: §

“That as to the origin and development of the vowels their force and virtue were invented by, or communicated to, Adam, in Paradise; transmitted to and by Moses; that they had been partially forgotten, and their pronunciation vitiated during the Babylonian captivity; that they had been restored by Ezra, but that they had been forgotten again in the wars and struggles during and after the destruction of the second temple; and that the Massorites, after the close of the Talmud, revised the system, and permanently fixed the pronunciation by the contrivance of the present signs. This accounts

* *Com. on Rom.* x. 6; *Heb.* iv. 4.

† Compare Tholuck, art. *Inspiration* in *Herzog Ency.*, I. Aufl., VI., 696, seq.

‡ *The Light of the Eyes*, עינים מוארים III. 89, 1574-5.

§ *Life of Elias Levita*, in connection with his edition of Levita's *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, London, 1867, p. 53.

for the fact that the present vowel points are not mentioned in the Talmud. The reason why Moses did not punctuate the copy of the law which he wrote, is that its import should not be understood without oral tradition. Besides, as the law has seventy different meanings, the writing of it, without points, greatly aids to obtain these various interpretations; whereas the affixing of the vowel signs would preclude all permutations and transpositions, and greatly restrict the sense by fixing the pronunciation."

His principal reliance was upon some passages of the book *Zohar* and other cabalistic writings, which he claimed to be older than the Mishna, but which have since been shown to be greatly interpolated and of questionable antiquity.*

Relying upon these the elder Buxtorf with his great authority misled a large number of the most prominent of the Reformed divines of the continent to maintain the opinion of the divine origin and authority of the Masoretic vowel points and accents.† In England, Fulke,‡ Broughton,§ and Lightfoot|| adopted the same opinion. These rabbinical scholars exerted, in this respect, a disastrous influence upon the study of the Old Testament.

II. TEXTUAL CRITICISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The Protestant critical principle reasserted itself mightily through Ludwig Cappellus, of the French school of Saumur, where a freer type of theology had maintained itself. A new impulse to Hebrew scholarship had been given by Amira, Gabriel Sionita, and

* Ginsburg in *l. c.*, p. 52; Wogue, *Histoire de la Bible*, Paris, 1881, p. 121.

† *Tiberius sive Commentarius Masoreticus*, Basle, 1620.

‡ *A defence of the sincere and true translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue, etc.*, 1583; Parker Society edition, 1843, pp. 55 and 578.

§ *Daniel: his Chaldee visions and his Hebrew*, London, 1597, on chap. ix. 26.

|| *Chorographical Century*, c. 81; *Works*, Pitman's edition, 1823, Vol. IX., p. 150, seq.

other Maronites who brought a wealth of Oriental learning to the attention of Christian scholars. Pocock journeyed to the East, and returned with rich spoils of Arabic literature. France, Holland, and England vied with one another in their use of these literary treasures, and pushed them for the study of the Hebrew Scriptures over against the rabbinical tradition. Erpenius in Holland, the great Arabist, was the teacher of Cappellus, and first introduced his work to the public. Cappellus fell back on the views of Elias Levita, the teacher of the reformers, and the reformers themselves, and denied the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points and accents, and the common Massoretic text, and insisted upon its revision, through the comparison of MSS. and ancient versions.* Cappellus was sustained by the French theologians generally, even by Rivetus, also by Cocceius, the father of the Federal school in Holland, who first gave the author's name to the public, and the body of English critics.†

In this connection a series of great Polyglots appeared, beginning with the Antwerp of the Jesuit Arias Montanus, assisted by And. Masius, Fabricus Boderianus, and Franz Rapheleng;‡ followed by the Paris Polyglot of Michael de Jay,§ edited by Morinus and Gabriel Sionita; and culminating in the London Polyglot of Brian Walton, in which he was aided by Ed. Castle, Ed. Pococke, Thos. Hyde, and others|—the greatest critical achievement of the 17th century,

* His work was published anonymously in 1624 at Leyden under the title *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum*, though completed in 1621.

† Comp. Schnedermann, *Die Controverse des Lud. Cappellus mit den Buxtorfen*, Leipzig, 1879.

‡ *Biblia Regia*, 8 vols. folio, 1569-72.

§ 1629-45, 10 vols. folio.

| 6 vols. folio, 1657.

which remains as the classic basis for the comparative study of versions until the present day.

The work of Cappellus remained unanswered, and worked powerfully until 1648. In the meantime the Roman Catholic Frenchman, Morinus, taking the same position as Cappellus, pressed it in order to show the need of Church authority and tradition.* This greatly complicated the discussion by making the view a basis for an attack on the Protestant position. The younger Buxtorf was stirred up to maintain the scholastic position against Cappellus.† The three universities of Sedan, Geneva, and Leyden were so aroused against Cappellus that they refused to allow the publication of his great work, *Critica Sacra*, which, however, appeared in 1650; the first of a series of corresponding productions.‡ Heidegger and Turretine rallied the universities of Zurich, Geneva, and Basle to the Zurich Consensus, which was adopted in 1675, against all the distinguishing doctrines of the school of Saumur, and the more liberal type of Calvinism, asserting for the first and only time in the symbols of the church the doctrine of *verbal* inspiration, together with the inspiration of accents and points.

Thus the formal principle of Protestantism was straitened, and its vital power destroyed by the erection of dogmatic barriers against biblical criticism. "They forgot that they by this standpoint again made Christian faith entirely dependent on church tradition: yes, with respect to the Old Testament, on the synagogue."§

The controversy between Brian Walton and John

* *Exercitationes biblicæ*, 1633.

† *Tract. de punct. vocal. et accent. in libr. V., T., heb. origine antiq.*, 1648.

‡ See Tholuck, *Akadem. Leben*, II., p. 332.

§ Dorner, *Gesch. Prot. Theologie*, p. 451.

Owen is instructive just here. John Owen had prepared a tract,* in which he takes the scholastic ground, "Nor is it enough to satisfy us that the doctrines mentioned are preserved entire; every tittle and iota in the Word of God must come under our consideration, as being as such from God." †

Before the tract was issued he was confronted by the Prolegomena to Walton's *Biblia Polyglotta*, which, he perceived, undermined his theory of inspiration, and, therefore, added an appendix, ‡ in which he maintains that :

"The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were immediately and entirely given out by God himself, His mind being in them represented unto us without the least interveniency of such mediums and ways as were capable of giving change or alteration to the least *iota* or syllable."

Brian Walton admirably replies to him :

"For when at the beginning of the Reformation, divers questions arose about the Scriptures and the Church; the Romanists observing that the punctuation of the Hebrew text was an invention of the Masorites, they thereupon inferred that the text without the points might be taken in divers senses, and that none was tyed to the reading of the Rabbins, and therefore concluded that the Scripture is ambiguous and doubtful without the interpretation and testimony of the Church, so that all must flee to the authority of the Church and depend upon her for the true sense and meaning of the Scriptures. On the other side, some Protestants, fearing that some advantage might be given to the *Romanists* by this *concession*, and not considering how the *certainity* of the *Scriptures* might well be maintained though the Text were *unpointed*, instead of denying the *con-*

* *The Divine Original, Authority, and Self-evidencing Light and Purity of the Scriptures.*

† *Works*, xvi. p. 303.

‡ *Of the integrity and purity of the Hebrew Text of the Scriptures, with considerations of the Prolegomena and Appendix to the late "Biblia Polyglotta,"* Oxford, 1659.

sequence, which they might well have done, thought fit rather to deny the *assumption*, and to maintain that the *points* were of *Divine original*, whereby they involved themselves in extreme labyrinths, engaging themselves in defence of that which might be easily proved to be false, and thereby wronged the cause which they seemed to defend. Others, therefore, of more *learning* and *judgment* knowing that this *position of the divine original* of the *points* could not be made good; and that the truth needed not the patronage of an *untruth*, would not engage themselves therein, but granted it to be true, that the *points* were invented by the *Rabbins*, yet denied the *consequence*, maintaining, notwithstanding, that the reading and sense of the text might be *certain* without *punctuation*, and that therefore the *Scriptures* did not at all depend upon the authority of the *Church*: and of this judgment were the chief *Protestant Divines*, and greatest *linguists* that then were, or have been since in the *Christian world*, such as I named before; Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, Beza, Musculus, Brentius, Pellicane, Oecolampadius, Mercer Piscator, P. Phagius, Drusius, Schindler, Martinius, Scaliger, De Dieu, Casaubon, Erpenius, Sixt. Amana, Jac. and Ludov. Capellus, Grotius, etc. — among ourselves, Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Prideaux, Mr. Mead, Mr. Selden, and innumerable others, whom I forbear to name, who conceived it would nothing disadvantage the cause, to yield that proposition, for that they could still make it good, that the Scripture was in itself a *sufficient* and *certain* rule for faith and life, not depending upon any human authority to support it."*

We have quoted this extract at length for the light it casts upon the struggle of criticism at the time. John Owen, honored as a preacher and dogmatic writer, but certainly no exegete, had spun a theory of inspiration after the *a priori* scholastic method, and with it did battle against the great Polyglot. It was a Quixotic attempt, and resulted in ridiculous failure. His dogma is crushed as a shell in the grasp of a giant. The indignation of Walton burns hot against this wanton and unreasoning attack. But he consoles himself with the

* *The Considerator Considered*, London, 1699, p. 220, seq.

opening reflection that Origen's Hexapla; Jerome's Vulgate; the Complutensian Polyglot; Erasmus' Greek Testament; the Antwerp and Paris Polyglots have all in turn been assailed by those whose theories and dogmas have been threatened or overturned by a scholarly induction of facts.

The theory of the scholastics prevailed but for a brief period in Switzerland, where it was overthrown by the reaction under the leadership of the younger Turretine. The theory of John Owen did not influence the Westminster men :

"In fact, it was not till several years after the Confession was completed, and the star of Owen was in the ascendant, that under the spell of a genius and learning only second to Calvin, English Puritanism so generally identified itself with what is termed his less liberal view."*

Owen's scholastic type of theology worked in the doctrine of inspiration, as well as in other dogmas, to the detriment of the simpler and more evangelical Westminster theology; and in the latter part of the seventeenth century gave Puritan theology a scholastic type which it did not possess before. But it did not prevent such representative Presbyterians as Matthew Poole, Edmund Calamy, and the Cambridge men, with Baxter, from taking the more evangelical Westminster position. The critics of the Reformed church produced masterpieces of biblical learning, which have been the pride and boast of the churches to the present. Like Cappelus, they delighted in the name *critical*, and were not afraid of it. The *Critici Sacri* of John Pearson, Anton Scattergood, Henry Gouldman, and Rich. Pearson, followed up Walton's Polyglot in 1660 (9 vols. folio), and

* Mitchell, *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, p. xx.

this was succeeded by Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* in 1669 (5 vols. folio).

III TEXTUAL CRITICISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

Biblical criticism continued in England till the midst of the eighteenth century. Mill issued his critical New Testament in 1707, the fruit of great industry, and was assailed by unthinking men who preferred pious ignorance to a correct New Testament.* But Richard Bentley espoused the cause of his friend with invincible arguments, and he himself spent many years in the collection of manuscripts, but died leaving his magnificent work incomplete, and his plans to be carried out by foreign scholars.

For "now original research in the science of Biblical Criticism, so far as the New Testament is concerned, seems to have left the shores of England to return no more for upwards of a century; and we must look to Germany if we wish to trace the further progress of investigations which our countrymen had so auspiciously begun."†

Bishop Lowth did for the Old Testament what Bentley did for the New. In his works‡ he called the attention of scholars to the necessity of emendation of the Massoretic text, and encouraged Kennicott to collate the manuscripts of the Old Testament, which he did and published the result in a monumental work in 1776-1780.§ This was preceded by an introductory work in 1753-59.¶

* Scrivener, *Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.*, 2d edit. 1874, p. 400.

† Scrivener in *l. c.*, p. 402.

‡ *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum*, 1753, and *Isaiah: A New Translation, with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes*, 1778, 2d edition, 1779.

§ *Vetus Test. Heb. cum var. lectionibus*, 2 tom., Oxford.

¶ *The state of the printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered*, 3 vols., 8vo. Oxford.

After this splendid beginning, Old Testament criticism followed its New Testament sister to the continent of Europe and remained absent until our own day.

On the continent the work of Mill was carried on by J. A. Bengel * J. C. Wetstein,† J. J. Griesbach,‡ J. M. A. Scholz,§ C. Lachmann,|| culminating in Const. Tischendorf, who edited the chief uncial authorities, discovered and edited the *Codex Sinaiticus*,¶ and issued numerous editions of the New Testament, the earliest in 1841. He crowned his work with the eighth critical edition of the New Testament, which he lived to complete, but had to leave the Prolegomena to another.** Tischendorf is the greatest textual critic the world has yet produced.

In the Old Testament, De Rossi carried on the work of Kennicott.†† Little has been done since his day until recent times, when Baer united with Delitzsch in issuing in parts a revised Massoretic text, 1869-1882; Hermann Strack examined the recently-discovered Oriental manuscripts, the chief of which is the St. Petersburg codex of the Prophets of the year 916 A.D.,‡‡ and Frensdorf undertook the production of the *Massora Magna*.§§

* *Prodromus, N. T. Gr.*, 1725. *Novum Test.*, 1734.

† *New Test. Gr. cum lectionibus variantibus Codicum, etc.* Amst. 1751-2.

‡ *Symbolae Criticae*, II. tom., 1785-93.

§ *Bib. krit. Reise Leipzig*, 1823; *N. T. Graece*, 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1830-36.

|| *Novum Test. Graece et Latine*, 2 Bde., Berlin, 1842-50.

¶ *Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, St. Petersburg, 1862; *Die Sinaitibel, Ihre Entdeckung, Herausgabe und Erwerbung*, Leipzig, 1871.

** *Novum Testamentum Graece. Editio octava: Critica Major*, Lipsiae, 1869-72. The Prolegomena is in the hands of an American scholar, Dr. C. E. Gregory.

†† *Variae lectiones Vet. Test.*, 4 tom., Parm., 1784-1788.

‡‡ *Prophetarum Posteriorum Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus*, Petropoli, 1876.

§§ *Die Massora Magna; Erster Theil, Massoretisches Wörterbuch*, Hanover und Leipzig, 1876.

Within recent times textual criticism has taken strong hold again in England. S. P. Tregelles,* F. H. Scrivener,† B. F. Westcott, and F. J. A. Hort ‡ have advanced the textual criticism of the New Testament beyond the mark reached by continental scholars. In Old Testament criticism England is advancing to the front rank. The work of Ginsburg on the Massora § is the greatest achievement since the unpublished work of Elias Levita. But the Massoretic text is only the beginning toward a correct text of the Old Testament.

The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament is at least half a century behind the New Testament. And the reason of it is, that scholars have hesitated to go back of the Massoretic text. Few have given their attention to the literary features of the Bible and especially its poetic structure. But it is just here that the eyes of the student are opened to the necessity of emendation of the text where we can receive no help from the Massorites, who seem to have been profoundly ignorant of the structure of Hebrew poetry. Prof. Grätz, the Jewish scholar, has recently said that we ought not to speak of a Massoretic text that has been made sure to us, but rather of different schools of Massorites, and follow their example and remove impossible readings from the text. ¶

* *The Greek New Testament edited from ancient authorities, etc.*, 4to, 1857-1872, pp. 1017.

† *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 3d edition, 1883.

‡ *The New Testament in the Original Greek*. Vol. II. *Introduction and Appendix*. N. Y., 1882.

§ *The Massorah compiled from Manuscripts Alphabetically and Lexically arranged*, Vol. I. and II. Aleph—Tav, London, 1880-83.

| Davidson, *Treatise of Biblical Criticism*, Boston, 1853, I., p. 160, seq.

¶ *Krit. Com. zu den Psalmen nebst Text und Uebersetzung*, Breslau, L., 1882, p. 118, seq.

Bishop Lowth, with his fine æsthetic sense and insight into the principles of Hebrew poetry, saw and stated the truth :

"If it be asked, what then is the real condition of the present Hebrew Text; and of what sort, and in what number, are the mistakes which we must acknowledge to be found in it: it is answered, that the condition of the Hebrew Text is such, as from the nature of the thing, the antiquity of the writings themselves, the want of due care, or critical skill (in which latter at least the Jews have been exceedingly deficient), might in all reason have been expected, that the mistakes are frequent, and of various kinds; of letters, words, and sentences; by variation, omission, transposition; such as often injure the beauty and elegance, embarrass the construction, alter or obscure the sense, and sometimes render it quite unintelligible. If it be objected, that a concession, so large as this is, tends to invalidate the authority of Scripture; that it gives up in effect the certainty and authenticity of the doctrines contained in it, and exposes our religion naked and defenceless to the assaults of its enemies: this, I think, is a vain and groundless apprehension. . . . Important and fundamental doctrines do not wholly depend on single passages; and universal harmony runs through the Holy Scriptures; the parts mutually support each other, and supply one another's deficiencies and obscurities. Superficial damages and partial defects may greatly diminish the beauty of the edifice, without injuring its strength, and bringing on utter ruin and destruction." *

The views of the *critics* prevailed over those of the scholastics, and no one would now venture to dispute their conclusions.

IV. THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

It has become more and more evident that the Hebrew vowel points and accents were not attached to the original MSS. of their authors, but that they have been the product of a long historical development. The Arabic Koran gives us doubtless the simplest sys-

* Lowth, *Isaiah*, 2d ed., London, 779, pp. lix., lx.

tem. The Syriac gives us a double system, the Greek and the Syrian proper, standing between the Arabic and the Hebrew. The Hebrew has also two systems, the Palestinian and the Babylonian, the latter preserved in the *Codex Petropol.*, 916 A.D., which was unknown until recent times. These two evidently developed side by side and go back on an earlier, simpler system, somewhat like the Arabic, which has been lost.* The origin of the system of pointing the Shemitic languages was probably in the Syrian school at Edessa, and from thence it passed over from the Syriac text at first to the Arabic and afterward to the Hebrew texts. The movement began with diacritical signs to distinguish certain letters and forms, such as we find in the Syriac. This gave place to a system of vowel points. Among the Hebrews the Babylonian is the earlier, and is characterized by placing the vowel points above the letters; the Tiberian is the later and more perfect system, and has therefore prevailed. The system did not reach its present condition until the seventh century at Babylon and the middle of the eighth century of our era, in Palestine,† although Ginsburg attributes the origin of the Babylonian system to *Acha*, about 550, and the Tiberian to Mocha, about 570.‡ It was the work of the Massoretic Jewish critics. The accents went through a similar course of development. They serve for a guide in the cantillation of the synagogues even more than for division of the sentences and the determination of the tone. These also were modelled after the musical notation of the Syrian Church.§ Hence the double tradition as to the place of

* Gesenius, *Hebr. Gram.*, ed. Rödiger and Kautzsch, 22 Aufl., p. 31.

† Dillmann, *Bibeltext. A. T.*, in Herzog, *Ency.* II., pp. 394-6.

‡ *Life of Elias Levita*, in *l. c.*, p. 61, seq.

§ Wickes, *Treatise on the Accentuation of the Three so-called Poetic Books of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1881.

the accent, the German and Polish Jews placing it after the Aramaic on the penult, whereas the Spanish and Italian Jews followed by Christians place it on the ultimate. Bickell has recently decided against the present accepted method.*

Still further the square Aramaic characters used in our Bible were exchanged for earlier Hebrew letters, such as we see upon ancient coins, in the Samaritan MS. of the Pentateuch, the Siloam Inscription,† and on the Mesha stone. This change was made not earlier than the fourth century B.C.,‡ and upon it the Massoretic pointing depends. It is true that the present consonant text was fixed before the Talmudic era by the Jewish school of Tiberias, and the differences in reading since that time are few and comparatively unimportant in the MSS. thus far collated,§ but the ancient Syriac version, and especially the LXX, and the Samaritan copy, go back of the labors of the Massoretic period and the work of the schools of Tiberias and Babylon, and give testimony to an earlier text than that presented to us in the present Hebrew text.

It is characteristic of scholastics that they underrate these versions. Even Keil, in his anxiety to maintain the present Massoretic text, charges the LXX version with the carelessness and caprice of transcribers and an uncritical and wanton passion for emendation. But this is in the face of the fact that the LXX version was the authorized text of the ancient church, that the New Testament citations are generally supposed to be large-

* *Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrica*, Oeniponte, 1882, p. 219, seq.

† See author's article on the Siloam Inscription in *Presbyterian Review* III. p. 401, seq.

‡ Dillmann, *Bibeltext. d. A. T.* Herzog, H., p. 384.

§ Strack, *Proleg. Critica*, Leip., 1873, p. 66 f.

ly from it, and that its testimony is centuries earlier than that of the Jewish school of Tiberias. The Pharisaical authority was directed to destroy the confidence of the Hellenistic Jews in it, and the version of Aquila was made to supplant it and rally the Jews of the world around an official and universally received text.* But whether a deliberate attempt was made to suppress and destroy all varying copies, as W. Robertson Smith following Noeldeke supposes,† is questionable. We doubt not that those zealots, who under the lead of Rabbi Akiba brought about the destruction of their country and the universal hatred of their race, were capable of this wickedness, but we have not learned that there is sufficient historical evidence to sustain this opinion.

There can be no doubt, moreover, as Robertson Smith states: "It has gradually become clear to the vast majority of conscientious students that the Septuagint is really of the greatest value as a witness to the early state of the text."‡ Bishop Lowth already§ calls the Massoretic text

"The Jews' interpretation of the Old Testament." "We do not deny the usefulness of this interpretation, nor would we be thought to detract from its merits by setting it in this light; it is perhaps, upon the whole, preferable to any one of the ancient versions; it has probably the great advantage of having been formed upon a traditional explanation of the text and of being generally agreeable to that sense of Scripture which passed current and was commonly received by the Jewish nation in ancient times; and it has certainly been of great service to the moderns in leading them into the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. But they would have made a much

* Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, 1866, IV., p. 437; Joël, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zum Anfang des zweiten Christlichen Jahrhunderts*, I., 1880, p. 43, seq.

† *Old Test. in Jewish Church*, p. 74.

‡ *In l. c.*, p. 86.

§ *In his Preliminary Dissert. to Isaiah*, 2d edit., London, 1779, p. iv.

better use of it, and a greater progress in the explication of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, had they consulted it, without absolutely submitting to its authority; had they considered it as an assistant, not as an infallible guide."

Probably few scholars would go so far as this, yet there is a strong tendency in that direction. It is a most significant fact that the New Testament does not base its citations upon the original Hebrew text in literal quotation, but uses ordinarily the LXX and sometimes the Hebrew and possibly ancient Aramaic Targums with the utmost freedom. This question of citation has ever given trouble to the apologist. Richard Baxter meets it in this way:

"But one instance I more doubt of myself, which is, when Christ and his apostles do oft use the Septuagint in their citations out of the Old Testament, whether it be alwaies their meaning to justifie each *translation and particle of sense*, as the Word of God and rightly done; or only to use that as tolerable and containing the main truth intended which was then in use among the Jews, and therefore understood by them; and so best to the auditors. And also whether every citation of number or genealogies from the Septuagint, intended an approbation of it in the very points it differeth from the Hebrew copies." *

Professor Böhl, of Vienna, has recently advanced the theory that these citations are all from a Targum used in the synagogues of Palestine in the first Christian century, which has been lost.† The book of Jubilees of the first Christian century and other pseudepigraphs of the time testify with the Samaritan text and Targum to differences of text not represented in the Massoretic system.‡

* *More Reasons*, 1672, p. 49; see also p. 45.

† *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu*, Wien, 1873; *Alttestamentlichen Citate in Neuen Test.*, Wien, 1878.

‡ Nöldeke, *Alttestamentliche Literatur*, 1868, p. 241; Dillmann, *Beiträge aus dem Buch der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch Textes*, 1883.

But we must go still further back than the versions and citations to the parallel passages and duplicate psalms, prophecies, and narratives of the Old Testament in our study of the original text. No one can study attentively the texts of Pss. xiv. and liii., Ps. xviii. and 1 Chron. xvi., Micah iv. and Isa. ii., not to speak of the many other parallel passages, without being impressed with the liberty that has been taken, in the most ancient times, in making *intentional* changes, showing:

"With what freedom later authors worked over ancient documents, and also that they were not accustomed to regard the preservation of every word and letter as necessary." *

V. TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND INSPIRATION.

So far as the Old Testament is concerned, the theory of Buxtorf, Heidegger, Turretine, Voetius, Owen. and the Zurich Consensus, as to vowel points and accents, has been so utterly disproved that no biblical scholar of the present day would venture to defend them. But can their theory of *Verbal* Inspiration stand without these supports? Looking at the doctrine of inspiration from the point of view of textual criticism, we see at once that there can be no inspiration of the *written letters* or *uttered sounds* of our present Hebrew text, for these are transliterations of the originals which have been lost, and the sounds are uncertain, and while there is a general correspondence of these letters and sounds so that they give us essentially the original, they do not give us exactly the original. The inspiration must therefore lie back of the *written letters* and the *uttered sounds* and be sought in that which is common to the old characters and the new

* Dillmann, *Bibltext.* A. T., Herzog, II. Aufl., II., p. 383.

the utterance of the voice and the constructions of the pen, namely, in the concepts, the sense and meaning that they convey:

"All language or writing is but the vessel, the symbol, or declaration of the rule, not the rule itself. It is a certain form or means by which the divine truth cometh unto us, as things are contained in words, and because the doctrine and matter of the text is not made unto one but by words and a language which I understand; therefore I say, the Scripture in English is the rule and ground of my faith, and whereupon I relying have not a humane, but a divine authority for my faith."*

For the divine Word was not meant for the Hebrew and Greek nations alone, or for Hebrew and Greek scholars, but for all nations and the people of God. It is given to the world in a great variety of languages with a great variety of letters and sounds, so that the sacred truth approaches each one in his native tongue: in an appropriate relation to his understanding, just as at Pentecost the same Divine Spirit distributed Himself in cloven tongues of fire upon a large number of different persons. Thus every faithful translation as an instrument conveys the divine Word to those who read or hear it:

"For it is not the shell of the words, but the kernel of the matter which commends itself to the consciences of men, and that is the same in all languages. The Scriptures in English, no less than in Hebrew or Greek, display its lustre and exert its power and discover the character of its divine original."†

This is shown by the process of translation itself. The translator does not transliterate the letters and syllables, transmute sounds, give word for word, transfer

* Lyford, *Plain Man's Sense Exercised*, etc., p. 49.

† Matthew Poole, *Blow at the Root*, London, 1679, p. 234.

foreign words and idioms, but he ascertains the *sense* the idea, and then gives expression to the *idea*, the sense, in the most appropriate way. It is admitted that close, literal translations are bad, misleading, worse than paraphrases. The *Midrash* method of Ezra is far preferable, to give the sense to the people without the pedantry and subtilties of scholarship. As another Puritan says :

"Now, what shall a poor unlearned Christian do, if he hath nothing to rest his poore soul on ? The originals he understands not ; if he did, the first copies are not to be had ; he cannot tell whether the Hebrew or Greek copies be the right Hebrew or the right Greek, or that which is said to be the meaning of the Hebrew or Greek, but as men tell us, who are not prophets and may mistake. Besides, the transcribers were men and might err. These considerations let in Atheisme like a flood."*

It is a merciful providence that divine inspiration is not confined to particular words and phrases and grammatical, logical, or rhetorical constructions ; and that the same divine truth may be presented in a variety of synonymous words and phrases and sentences. It is the method of divine revelation to give the same laws, doctrines, narratives, expressions of emotion, and prophecies in great variety of forms, none of which are adequate to convey the divine idea, but in their combination it is presented from all those varied points of view that a rich, natural language affords, in order that the mind and heart may grasp the idea itself, appropriate and reproduce it in other forms of language, and in the motives, principles, and habits of every-day life. The external word, written or spoken, is purely *instrumental*, conveying divine truth to the soul of man, as the eye and the ear are instrumental senses for its appropriation

* Rich. Capel, *Remains*, London, 1658.

by the soul. It does not work *ex opere operato* by any mechanical or magical power.

As the Lutherans tend to lay the stress upon the sacraments, in their external operation, and the Anglicans upon the external organization of the church, so the Reformed church has ever been in peril of laying the stress on the letter, the external operation of the Word of God. The Protestant principle struggles against this confounding of the means of grace with the divine grace itself, this identification of the instrument and the divine agent, in order therefore to their proper discrimination. This is the problem left unsolved by the Reformation, in which the separate churches of Protestantism have been working, and which demands a solution from the church of the nineteenth century. Here the most radical question is, that of the divine Word and its relation to the work of the Holy Spirit. This solved, all the other questions will be solved. Herein the churches of the Reformation may be harmonized. The Reformed churches have a peculiar call to grapple bravely with the problem. Its solution can come only from a further working out of the critical principles of the Reformation and Puritanism, not by logical deduction from the creeds and scholastic dogmas alone, but by a careful induction of the facts from the Scriptures themselves, a comparison of these results with those obtained by the dogmatic process, in order that the dogmatic and critical methods may act and react upon one another, to that most desired conclusion. But both must maintain the fundamental distinction between the external and the internal word, so well stated by John Wallis, one of the clerks of the Westminster Assembly:

"The Scriptures in themselves are a Lanthorn rather than a Light ;

they shine, indeed, but it is *alieno lumine*; it is not their own, but a borrowed light. It is God which is the true light that shines to us in the Scriptures; and they have no other light in them, but as they represent to us somewhat of God, and as they exhibit and hold forth God to us, who is the true light that 'enlighteneth every man that comes into the world.' It is a light, then, as it represents God unto us, who is the original light. It transmits some rays; some beams of the divine nature; but they are refracted, or else we should not be able to behold them. They lose much of their original lustre by passing through this medium, and appear not so glorious to us as they are in themselves. They represent God's simplicity obliquated and refracted, by reason of many inadequate conceptions; God condescending to the weakness of our capacity to speak to us in our own dialect."*

The Scriptures are lamps, vessels of the most holy character, but no less vessels of the divine grace than were the apostles and prophets who spake and wrote them. As vessels they have come into material contact with the forces of this world, with human weakness, ignorance, prejudice, and folly; their forms have been modified in the course of the generations, but their divine contents remain unchanged. We will never be able to attain the sacred writings in the original letters and sounds and forms in which they gladdened the eyes of those who first saw them, and rejoiced the hearts of those who first heard them. If the external words of these originals were inspired, it does not profit us. We are cut off from them forever. Interposed between us and them is the tradition of centuries and even milleniums. Doubtless by God's "singular care and providence they have been kept pure in all ages, and are therefore authentical."† Doubtless throughout the whole work of the authors "the Holy Spirit was present, causing His energies to flow into the spontaneous

* *Sermons*, Lond., 1752, pp. 207-8.

† *Conf. of Faith*, I., viii.

exercises of the writers' faculties, elevating and directing where need be, and everywhere securing the errorless expression in language of the thought designed by God";* but we cannot in the symbolical or historical use of the term call this providential care of His Word or superintendence over its external production—inspiration. Such providential care and superintendence is not different in kind with regard to the Word of God, the visible church of God, or the forms of the sacraments. Inspiration lies back of the external letter—it is that which gives the word its efficacy, it is the divine afflatus which enlightened and guided holy men to apprehend the truth of God in its appropriate forms; assured them of their possession of it; and called and enabled them to make it known to the church by voice and pen. This made their persons holy, their utterances holy, their writings holy, but only as the instruments, not as the holy thing itself. The divine Logos—that is the sum and substance of the Scripture, the holy of holies, whence the Spirit of God goes forth through the holy place of the circumstantial sense of type and symbol, and literary representation, into the outer court of the words and sentences, through them to enter by the ear and eye into the hearts of men with enlightening, sanctifying, and saving power:

"Inspiration is more than superintending guidance, for that expresses but an external relation between the Spirit and writer. But Inspiration is an influence within the soul, divine and supernatural, working through all the writers in one organizing method, making of the many one, by all one book, the Book of God, the Book for man, divine and human in all its parts; having the same relation to all other books that the Person of the Son of God has to all other

* A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield, art. *Inspiration*, *Presbyterian Review*, II., 221.

men, and that the church of the living God has to all other institutions."*

True criticism never disregards the letter, but reverently and tenderly handles every letter and syllable of the Word of God, striving to purify it from all dross, brushing away the dust of tradition and guarding it from the ignorant and profane. But it is with no superstitious dread of magical virtue or virus in it, or anxious fears lest it should dissolve in the hands, but with an assured trust that it is the tabernacle of God, through whose external courts there is an approach to the Lord Jesus himself. "Bibliolatry clings to the letter; spirituality in the letter finds the spirit and does not disown the letter which guided to the spirit."†

Such criticism has accomplished great things for the New Testament text. It will do even more for the Old Testament so soon as the old superstitious reverence for Massoretic tradition and servitude to the Jews has been laid aside by Christian scholars. Critical theories first come into conflict with the church doctrine of inspiration when they deny the inspiration of the truth and facts of Scripture; when they superadd another authoritative and predominant test, whether as the reason, the conscience, or the religious feeling. But this is to go beyond the sphere of evangelical criticism and enter into the fields of rationalistic, ethical, or mystical criticism. Evangelical criticism conflicts only with false views of inspiration. It disturbs the inspiration of versions, the inspiration of the Massoretic text, the inspiration of particular letters, syllables, and external words and expressions; and truly all those who rest upon these external things ought to be disturbed and driven from the

* H. B. Smith, *Sermon on Inspiration*, 1855, p. 27.

† In *I. c.*, p. 36.

letter to the spirit, from clinging to the outer walls, to seek Him who is the sum and substance, the Master and the King of the Scriptures.

Here the people and critics are agreed, who can doubt it ?

"As if the vast multitude of Christian souls who really used it did not believe in a Bible, which in its parts is vital and saving as well as in the whole, which is superior in its central lessons to all the errors of editors and translators, and which can even convey eternal life by its reproduction in sermons, however weak, that are faithful to its spirit, though they do not literally give back one of its sentences." *

As Tyndale, our great English reformer, says :

"The Scriptures spring out of God and flow unto Christ, and were given to lead us to Christ. Thou must therefore go along by the Scripture, as by a line, until thou come to Christ who is the ways end and resting-place." † "For though the Scripture be an outward instrument and the preacher also to move men to believe. Yet the chief and principal cause why a man believeth, or believeth not, is within ; that is, the Spirit of God leadeth His children to believe." ‡

* Prin. Cairns, *Unbelief in 18th Century*, p. 152.

† *Works*, Parker Series, I., p. 317.

‡ *Works*, III., p. 139.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

WE have shown in our previous chapters that the Reformation was a great critical revival; that evangelical biblical criticism was based on the formal principle of Protestantism, the divine authority of the Scriptures over against ecclesiastical tradition; that the voice of God Himself, speaking to His people through His Word, is the great evangelical critical test; that the reformers applied this test to the traditional theory of the canon and eliminated the apocryphal books therefrom; that they applied it to the received versions, and, rejecting the inspiration and authority of the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, resorted to the original Greek and Hebrew texts; that they applied it to the Massoretic traditional pointing of the Hebrew Scriptures, and, rejecting it as uninspired, resorted to the divine original unpointed text; that they applied it to the traditional manifold sense and allegorical method of interpretation, and, rejecting these, followed the plain grammatical sense, interpreting difficult and obscure passages by the mind of the Spirit in passages that are plain and undisputed.

We have also described the second critical revival under the lead of Cappellus and Walton, and their conflict with the Protestant scholastics who had reacted from the critical principles of the Reformation into a reliance upon

rabbinical tradition. We have shown that the Puritan divines still held the position of the reformers, and were not in accord with the scholastics. We have now to trace a third critical revival which began toward the close of the eighteenth century in the investigations of the poetic and literary features of the Old Testament by Bishop Lowth in England and the poet Herder in Germany, and of the structure of Genesis by the Roman Catholic physician Astruc. The first critical revival had been mainly devoted to the canon of Scripture, its authority and interpretation. The second critical revival had been chiefly with regard to the original texts and versions. The third critical revival now gave attention to the investigation of the sacred Scriptures as literature.

I. THE HIGHER CRITICISM IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

Little attention had been given to the literary features of the Bible in the sixteenth century. How the reformers would have met these questions we may infer from their freedom with regard to traditional views in the few cases in which they expressed themselves. Luther denied the Apocalypse to John and Ecclesiastes to Solomon. He maintained that the epistle of James was not an apostolic writing. He regarded Jude as an extract from 2d Peter, and said, What matters it if Moses should not himself have written the Pentateuch? * He thought the epistle to the Hebrews was written by a disciple of the apostle Paul, who was a learned man, and made the epistle as a sort of a composite piece in which there are some things hard to be reconciled with the Gospel. Calvin denied the

* See Diestel, *Gesch. des Alten Test. in der christlichen Kirche*, 1869, p. 250, seq.; and Vorreden in Walch edit. of *Luther's Werken*, XIV., pp. 35, 146-153 *Tischreden*, I., p. 28.

Pauline authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews and doubted the Petrine authorship of 2d Peter. He taught that Ezra or some one else edited the Psalter and made the first Psalm an introduction to the collection, not hesitating to oppose the traditional view that David was the author or editor of the entire Psalter. He also regarded Ezra as the author of the prophecy of Malachi—Malachi being his surname. He furthermore constructed, after the model of a harmony of the gospels, a harmony of the pentateuchal legislation about the Ten Commandments as a centre, holding that all the rest of the commandments were mere "appendages, which add not the smallest completeness to the Law." *

Zwingli, Ecolampadius, and other reformers took similar positions. These questions of authorship and date troubled the reformers but little; they had to battle against the Vulgate for the original text and popular versions, and for a simple grammatical exegesis over against traditional authority and the manifold sense. Hence it is that on these literary questions the symbols of the Reformation take no position whatever, except to lay stress upon the sublimity of the style, the unity and harmony of Scripture, and the internal evidence of its inspiration and authority. Calvin sets the example in

* "Therefore, God protests that He never enjoined anything with respect to sacrifices; and He pronounces all external rites but vain and trifling if the very least value be assigned to them apart from the Ten Commandments. Whence we more certainly arrive at the conclusion to which I have adverted, viz.: that they are not, to speak correctly, of the substance of the law, nor avail of themselves in the worship of God, nor are required by the Lawgiver himself as necessary, or even as useful, unless they sink into this inferior position. In fine, they are appendages which add not the smallest completeness to the Law, but whose object is to retain the pious in the spiritual worship of God, which consists of Faith and Repentance, of Praises whereby their gratitude is proclaimed, and even of the endurance of the cross" (*Preface to Harmony of the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch*).

this particular in his Institutes, and is followed by Thomas Cartwright, Archbishop Usher, and other Calvinists.

The Westminster Confession is in entire accord with the other Reformed confessions and the faith of the Reformation. It expresses a devout admiration and profound reverence for the holy majestic character and style of the Divine Word, but does not define the human authors and dates of the various writings. As Prof. A. F. Mitchell, of St. Andrew's, well states :

"Any one who will take the trouble to compare their list of the canonical books with that given in the Belgian Confession or the Irish articles, may satisfy himself that they held with Dr. Jameson that the authority of these books does not depend on the fact whether this prophet or that wrote a particular book or parts of a book whether a certain portion was derived from the Elohist or the Jehovist, whether Moses wrote the close of Deuteronomy, Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes, or Paul of the Epistle to the Hebrews but in the fact that a prophet, an inspired man, wrote them, and that they bear the stamp and impress of a divine origin." *

And Matthew Poole, the great Presbyterian critic of the seventeenth century, quotes with approval the following from Melchior Canus :

"It is not much material to the Catholick Faith that any book was written by this or that author, so long as the Spirit of God is believed to be the author of it ; which Gregory delivers and explains : For it matters not with what pen the King writes his letter, if it be true that he writ it." †

Andrew Rivetus, one of the chief Reformed divines

* *Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, Nov., 1644—Mch., 1649, edited by A. F. Mitchell and J. Struthers. Edin., 1874, p. xlix.

† *Blow at the Root*, 4th ed., 1671, p. 228.

of the continent,* after discussing the various views of the authorship of the Psalms, says :

"This only is to be held as certain, whether David or Moses or any other composed the psalms, they themselves were as pens, but the Holy Spirit wrote through them : But it is not necessary to trouble ourselves about the pen when the true author is established."

In his *Introduction* to the sacred Scriptures,† he enters into no discussion of the literary questions. This omission makes it clear that these questions did not concern the men of his times. Until toward the close of the seventeenth century, those who, in the brief preliminary words to their commentaries on the different books of Scripture, took the trouble to mention the authors and dates of writings, either followed the traditional views without criticism or deviated from them in entire unconsciousness of giving offence to the orthodox faith. This faith was firmly fixed on the *divine* author of Scripture, and they felt little concern for the *human* authors employed. One looks in vain in the commentaries of this period for a critical discussion of literary questions.‡

* In his *Prolog.* to his *Com. on the Psalms.*

† *Isagege seu Introductio generalis ad scripturam sacram*, 1697.

‡ As specimens we would present the following from the *Assembly's Annotations*. (1) Francis Taylor on *Job* : "Though most excellent and glorious things be contained in it, yet they seem to partake the same portion with their subject ; being (as his prosperity was) clouded often with much darkness and obscurity, and that not only in those things which are of lesse moment and edification (viz. : the Time and Place and Penman, etc.), but in points of higher doctrine and concernment. The Book is observed to be a sort of holy poem, but yet not a Fable ; and, though we cannot expressly conclude when or by whom it was written, though our maps cannot show us what Uz was, or where situate, yet cannot this Scripture of *Job* be rejected until Atheisme grow as desperate as his wife was, and resolve with her to curse God and dye." The traditional view that Moses wrote *Job* is simply abandoned and the authorship left unknown. (2) Casaubon, *Preface to the Psalms* : "The author of this book (the immedi-

The literary questions opened by Lowth, Herder, and Astruc were essentially *new* questions. The revived attention to classical and oriental history and literature carried with it a fresh study of Hebrew history and literature. The battle of the books waged between Bentley and Boyle, which was decided in the interests of literary criticism by the masterpiece of Bentley,* was the prelude of a struggle over all the literary monuments of antiquity, in which the spurious was to be separated from the genuine. It was indispensable that the whole Greek and Latin and Hebrew literatures should pass through the fires of this literary and historical criticism, which soon received the name of *Higher Criticism*. As Eichhorn says:

ate and secondary, we mean, besides the original and general of all true Scripture, the Holy Ghost . . .), though named in some other places of Scripture David, as Luke xx. 42, and elsewhere, is not here in the title of the book expressed. The truth is, they are not all David's Psalms, some having been made before and some long after him, as shall be shown in due place." The traditional view as to the Davidic authorship of the Psalter is abandoned without hesitation or apology. (3) Francis Taylor, *Preface to the Proverbs*: "That Solomon is the author of this book of Proverbs in general is generally acknowledged; but the author, as David of the Psalms, not because all made by him, but because either the maker of a good part, or collector and approver of the rest. It is not to be doubted but that many of these Proverbs and sentences were known and used long before Solomon. . . . Of them that were collected by others as Solomon's, but long since his death, from chap. xxv.-xxx., and then of those that bear Agur's name, xxx., and Lemuel's xxxi. . . . If not all Solomon's, then, but partly his and partly collected by him and partly by others at several times, no wonder if diverse things, with little or no alteration, be often repeated."

Joseph Mede (*Works*, II., pp. 963, 1022, London, 1664), Henry Hammond (*Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament*, London, 1871, p. 138), Kidder (*Demonstration of the Messias*, London, 1726, II., p. 76), and others denied the integrity of Zechariah, and, on the ground of Matthew xxvii. 9, ascribed the last six chapters to Jeremiah. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was questioned by Carlstadt (*De Script. Canon*, 1521, § 85), who left the author undetermined. The Roman Catholic scholar, Masius (*Com. in Josh.*, 1574, *Praef.*, p. 2, and chap. x. 13; xix. 47; *Critica Sacra*, II., p. 189a, London, 1660) and the British philosopher, Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 1651; part iii., c. xxxiii.), distinguished between Mosaic originals and our present Pentateuch.

* *Epistles of Phalaris and Fables of Aesop*, 1699; see Chap. IV., p. 93.

"Already long ago scholars have sought to determine the age of anonymous Greek and Roman writings now from their contents, and then since these are often insufficient for an investigation of this kind, from their language. They have also by the same means separated from ancient works pieces of later origin, which, by accidental circumstances, have become mingled with the ancient pieces. And not until the writings of the Old Testament have been subjected to the same test can any one assert with confidence that the sections of a book all belong in reality to the author whose name is prefixed." *

II. CRITICISM OF THE TRADITIONAL THEORIES.

The traditional views of the Old Testament literature, as fixed in the Talmud and stated in the Christian fathers, came down as a body of lore to be investigated and tested by the principles of this *Higher Criticism*. There were four ways of meeting the issue: (1) By attacking the traditional theories with the weapons of the higher criticism and testing them at all points, dealing with the Scriptures as with all other writings of antiquity. (2) By defending the traditional theories as the established faith of the Church on the ground of the authority of tradition, as Buxtorf and Owen had defended the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points against Capellus and Walton. (3) By ignoring these questions as matters of scholarship and not of faith, and resting on the divine authority of the writings themselves. In point of fact, these three methods were pursued, and three parties ranged themselves in line to meet the issues; the deistic or rationalistic, the traditional or scholastic, the pietistic or mystical, and the battle of the ages between these tendencies was renewed on this line. There was a fourth and better way which few pursued. The evangelical spirit would work in the line of the

* *Stanley*, III., p. 67.

Reformation and apply the critical test established by the reformers and (1) inquire what the Scriptures teach about themselves, and separate this *divine* authority from all other authority; (2) apply the principles of the *higher criticism* to decide questions not decided by divine authority; (3) use *tradition*, in order to determine as far as possible questions not settled by the previous methods.

We are not surprised that this method of criticism* has been objected to from the three points of view indicated above. We shall notice only the objection that it "begs the whole question."—"It is the divine authority of Scripture that constitutes the question in debate."† This objection arises from a misapprehension of the real state of the question. The questions of the higher criticism are questions of integrity, authenticity, credibility, and literary form of the various writings that constitute the Bible. The inspiration and authority of Scripture may be concerned with the results of the higher criticism, but they are questions with which higher criticism itself has nothing to do. The authority and inspiration of the Scriptures are properly considered in connection with biblical canonicity, where they were discussed by the reformers and have been discussed by us.‡ If the higher criticism should result in showing that any of the sacred books have characteristics that are inconsistent with the doctrine of the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures, we should have to inquire first whether the conflict is with certain theories of inspiration or the biblical and

* See author's article *A Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism, with Special Reference to the Pentateuch*, in *Presbyterian Review*, IV., p. 74, *seq.*

† F. L. Patton, article *Pentateuchal Criticism*, in *Presbyterian Review*, IV. p. 353, *seq.*

‡ In Chap. V.

symbolical doctrines of inspiration. We have found that the results of the textual criticism are in conflict with verbal inspiration,* but not with the symbolical doctrine of inspiration. If it should be found that the results of the higher criticism are in conflict with other school doctrines of inspiration, it is important that these doctrines should be changed as soon as possible to accord with these results. If it should be found that they are in conflict with the biblical or symbolical doctrine, it would place the critic in an embarrassing situation, where he would be obliged either to reject the authority of the Scriptures or his critical results. Rationalistic critics have chosen the former alternative. This has been due, in our judgment, to the rationalism with which they began and carried on their criticism and not to the results of criticism itself. The critic, as, indeed, every thinker, must confront this dread alternative. It is one of the perils of scholarship. We can only express our own convictions that while the traditional teachings of the schools will have to be modified to a considerable extent in the several departments of biblical study, there has nothing been established by modern critical work that will at all disturb the statements of the symbols of the Reformation with reference to the authority of the Word of God.

The method we have given is a method of evangelical criticism and not a method of proving inspiration. When, therefore, we state that the evangelical critic must first "inquire what the Scriptures teach about themselves and separate this divine authority from all other authority," we might omit the adjectives "divine" and "evangelical" and then the statement would apply

* Chap. VI., p. 156, *seq.*

equally well to all critics. They set out by finding what the biblical writings have to say about themselves. Evangelical critics are satisfied with this. Rationalistic critics are not. Here, after ascertaining what the Scriptures teach, the critics divide in accordance with their preconceptions. In the conflict of opinion, evangelical critics will waive their opinions as to the divine authority of this testimony, but in their own convictions, critical work, and teachings they will not waive them. The second step of the evangelical critic is to "apply the principles of the higher criticism to determine questions not decided by divine authority." As an evangelical critic this will be his method. In conflict with the rationalistic critics he will not hesitate to test the statements of the Scripture about themselves, but in doing this it is not necessary, nor is it possible for him to divest himself of the conviction that they are statements carrying with them divine authority.

III. THE RABBINICAL THEORIES.

In order to present the subject in its historical order we shall state the traditional views as they came down to the critics at the close of the 17th century.

The orthodox rabbinical theory of the Old Testament literature is contained in the tract *Baba Bathra* of the Talmud. This tract is of the order *Nezikin*; and is found in part in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. These Talmuds differ from one another in the particular tracts that they contain and in the matter in the tracts, so that the Babylonian Talmud is four times greater than that of Jerusalem. Both Talmuds in the treatises and tracts are composed of various elements or layers which are discriminated from one another by certain formulas of citation. The best known of these is the

Mishna of Rabbi Jehuda.* But there are also *Beraitha* and *Toseptha* and *Gemara* in the Talmud. If the Talmud be divided into *Mishna* and *Gemara*, it is more proper technically to attach the *Beraitha* and *Toseptha* to the *Mishna* section, for the *Gemara* is a commentary not on the *Mishna* of Rabbi Jehuda alone, but also on the *Beraithoth*, which it cites.†

The relation of the *Beraitha* and the *Toseptha* to the *Mishna* of the Rabbi Jehuda is not of inferior authority or of more recent origin. Some of them represent a more ancient tradition of the school of R. Akiba. They are all *Mishnayoth*. But the collection of Rabbi Jehuda is the *Mishna*, by eminence as the first collection, and the *Beraithoth* give other *Mishnayoth* not embraced in his collection, but collected by others, such as R. Jan-nai, R. Chiya, Bar Cappara, etc.‡ The *Mishna* has re-

* This has been published apart in various editions, e.g., 1 v. folio, Naples, 1492; *Surenhusius*, 6 v. folio, Amsterdam, 1698-1703; *Yost*, 6 thle, Berlin, 1832-34; *Sittenfeld*, 6 thle, Berlin, 1863, and others.

† To distinguish between the *Mishna* of Rabbi Jehuda and all the other elements as *Gemara*, is incorrect and misleading unless we use these terms in a purely formal sense, and distinguish in the *Gemara* the *Mishnaic* elements from the commentary of the *Gemara* upon them. Thus Emanuel Deutsch in his *Literary Remains* (p. 40): "Jehuda the 'Redactor' had excluded all but the best authenticated traditions as well as all discussion and exegesis, unless where particularly necessary. The vast mass of these materials was now also collected as a sort of Apocryphal oral code. We have dating a few generations after the Redaction of the official *Mishna*, a so-called external *Mishna* (*Beraitha*); further the discussions and additions belonging by rights to the *Mishna* called *Toseptha* (Supplement); and finally, the exegesis and methodology of the *Halacha* (*Sifri*, *Sifra*, *Mechilta*), much of which was afterwards introduced into the Talmud." So Levy in his *Neu Hebraisches und Chaldaisches Wörterbuch* (I. 260), defines: "בריתא as properly that which is outside of the Canon (we must supply מלתניתא to בריתא), that is, every *Mishna* (or *Halacha*, doctrine) which was not taken up into the collection of the *Mishna* by R. Jehuda Hanasi, and many of which collected separately by his later contemporaries are contained in different compendiums."

‡ See Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 232 f.; Wogue, *Histoire de l'Exigèse Biblique*, 1882, p. 285.

remained fixed and definite since the immediate disciples of Rabbi Jehuda completed it, although it was probably not committed to writing until the middle of the sixth century as Luzzato and Grätz show,* when the entire Talmuds were written out together. The *Tosephta* gives other *Mishnayoth* added as an appendix. The *Gemara* is then a commentary on these *Mishnayoth*.† In the passage on the books of the Old Testament of the Babylonian Talmud we have only to distinguish the *Beraitha* from the *Gemara*. The *Beraitha* is introduced regularly by "Our rabbins teach," "It is taught."‡ We present in translation a section of the tract *Baba Bathra*, fol. 14 a., containing the most important references to the Old Testament writings.

BERAITHA.—The Rabbins have taught that the classification of the Prophets is, Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the twelve (minor prophets).

GEMARA.—(*Question*): How is it? Hosea is first because it is written, "In the beginning the Lord spake to Hosea." But how did he speak in the beginning with Hosea? Have there not been so many prophets from Moses unto Hosea? Rabbi Johanan said that he was the first of the four prophets who prophesied in the

* Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, iv., p. 494.

† Chiarini, *Le Talmud de Babylone*, 1831, p. 19, go so far as to say: "*Les Mishnayoth, les Tosephtoth et les Beraithoth ont aussi porté le titre de משניות ou de גדלות, parce qu'elles jouissaient de la même autorité que la Mishna de Juda le Saint, et qu'elles étaient plus réputées encore que cette dernière des chefs de l'ordre et de la clarté.*" But they are regarded as apocryphal *Mishnayoth* by some. But this does not decide their intrinsic value. See also Pressel, in *Herzog Real Ency.*, 1 Aufl., xv., p. 661; Gelbhaus, *Rabbi Jehuda Hanassi*, Wien, 1876, p. 92. Schürer, *Lehrb. d. N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 42; Zunz, *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, p. 49, seq.

‡ We follow the *editio princeps*, 12 vols. folio, Venetia, Bomberg, 1520, but have also consulted the edition published at Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Oder by Jablonsky, 1736, which follows the Basle edition in expurgating the anti-Christian passages. Both of these are in the library of the Union Theol. Sem., N. Y.

same period, and these are: Hosea, Isaiah, Amos, and Micah. Should then Hosea be placed before at the head? (*Reply*): No, since his prophecies had been written alongside of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were the last of the prophets, it was counted with them. (*Question*): Ought it to have been written apart and ought it to have been placed before? (*Reply*): No; since it was little and might be easily lost. (*Question*): How is it? Isaiah was before Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Ought Isaiah to be placed before at the head? (*Reply*): Since the book of Kings ends in ruin and Jeremiah is, all of it, ruin, and Ezekiel has its beginning ruin and its end comfort, and Isaiah is all of it comfort; we join ruin to ruin and comfort to comfort.

BERAITHA.—The classification of the Hagiographa, is Ruth and the book of Psalms, and Job, and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Lamentations, Daniel and the roll of Esther, Ezra and Chronicles.

GEMARA.—(*Question*): But according to the Tanaite who said Job was in the days of Moses, ought Job to be placed before at the head? (*Reply*): We begin not with afflictions. (*Question*): Ruth has also afflictions? (*Reply*): But afflictions which have an end. As Rabbi Johanan says, Why was her name called Ruth? Because David went forth from her who refreshed the Holy One, blessed be He! with songs and praises.

BERAITHA.—And who wrote them? Moses wrote his book, the chapter of Balaam and Job; Joshua wrote his book and the eight verses of the law; Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth; David wrote the book of Psalms with the aid of the ten ancients, with the aid of Adam the first, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, the three sons of Korah; Jeremiah wrote his book, the books of Kings and Lamentations; Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, whose sign is *יחזקאל*; the men of the great synagogue wrote Ezekiel and the twelve (minor prophets), Daniel and the roll of Esther, whose sign is *קנדר*; Ezra wrote his book and the genealogy of Chronicles until himself.

GEMARA.—This will support Rab, for Rab Jehuda told that Rab said: Ezra went not up from Babylon until he had registered his own genealogy, then he went up. (*Question*: And who finished it (his book)? (*Reply*): Nehemiah, son of Hachaliah. The author

(of the Beraitha) said Joshua wrote his book and the eight verses of the law; this is taught according to him who says of the eight verses of the law, Joshua wrote them. For it is taught: And Moses the servant of the Lord died there. How is it possible that Moses died and wrote: and Moses died there? It is only unto this passage Moses wrote, afterwards Joshua wrote the rest. These are the words of Rabbi Jehuda, others say of Rabbi Nehemiah, but Rabbi Simeon said to him: Is it possible that the book of the law could lack one letter, since it is written: Take this book of the law? It is only unto this the Holy One, blessed be He! said, and Moses said and wrote. From this place and onwards the Holy One, blessed be He, said and Moses wrote with weeping. . . .

(*Question*): Joshua wrote his book? But it is written there: And Joshua died. (*Reply*): Eleazar finished it. (*Question*): But yet it is written there: And Eleazar the son of Aaron died. (*Reply*): Phineas finished it. (*Question*): Samuel wrote his book? But it is written there: And Samuel died, and they buried him in Rama. (*Reply*): Gad the seer and Nathan the Prophet finished it.

We have to distinguish the view of the Tanaim in the *Beraitha* and the view of the Amoraim in the *Gemara*. The Tanaim do not go beyond the scope of giving (1) the order of the sacred writings, (2) their editors.

(1) In the *order of the writings* we observe several singular features, which lead us to ask whether the order is topical, chronological, liturgical, or accidental. The Amoraim explain the order generally as topical, although other explanations are given, but their reasons are inconsistent and unsatisfactory. Is there a chronological reason at the bottom? This is clear in the order of the three classes—law, prophets, and other writings. But will it apply to the order of the books in the classes? There seems to be a general observance of the chronological order if we consider the subject matter as the determining factor, and not the time of composition. In the order of the prophets Jeremiah precedes Ezekiel properly. But why does Isaiah follow? Is it out

of a consciousness that Isaiah was a collection of several writings besides those of the great Isaiah,* or from the feeling that Isaiah's prophecies had more to do with the restoration than the exile, and so naturally followed Ezekiel? The minor prophets are arranged in three groups, and these groups are chronological in order. Hosea was placed first out of a mistaken interpretation of his introductory words. Malachi appropriately comes last. But this order of the prophets in the *Beraitha* is abandoned by the Massorites, who arrange Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. In the other writings there is a sort of chronological order if we consider the subject matter, but the Massoretic text differs from the *Beraitha* entirely, and indeed the Spanish and German manuscripts from one another. We cannot escape the conviction that there was a liturgical reason at the basis of the arrangement; which has not yet been determined. At all events, its authority has little weight for purposes of higher criticism.

(2) *As to their editorship.* The verb *kathabh*—"wrote," cannot imply composition in the sense of authorship in several cases of its use; but must be used in the sense of editorship or redaction. Thus it is said that the men of the great synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the minor prophets, Daniel, and the roll of Esther. This cannot mean that they were the original authors, but that they were editors of these books. It is not stated whether they edited them by copy from originals or from oral tradition. Rashi takes the latter alternative, and thinks that holy books could not be written outside of Palestine.† An insuperable objection to this editing of Daniel and

* Strack in Herzog, *Real Encyc.*, vii., p. 43.

† Strack in Herzog, *Real Encyc.*, vii., p. 418; Wright, *Kohélet*, p. 454, seq.; Wogué, *Histoire de la Bible*, p. 19, seq.

Esther at the same time as Ezekiel and the twelve, is their exclusion from the order of the prophets, where they would have naturally gone if introduced into the canon at that time; Esther with the prophetic histories, and Daniel with Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah.

Again, when it is said Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, this can only mean editorship, and not authorship. The *Tosaphoth* on the *Beraitha* says: "Hezekiah and his college wrote Isaiah; because Hezekiah caused them to busy themselves with the law, the matter was called after his name. But he (Hezekiah) did not write it himself, because he died before Isaiah, since Manasseh, his successor, killed Isaiah." The redaction of Proverbs, Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes by Hezekiah's company, is probably a conjecture based upon Proverbs xxv. 1. But the whole story is incredible. It carries with it a canon of Hezekiah, and would be inconsistent with the subsequent positions of these books in the canon.

David is represented as editing the Psalter with the aid of ten ancients—that is, he used the psalms of the ten worthies and united them with his own in the collection. Moses is represented as writing his book, the chapter of Balaam and Job. The chapter of Balaam is distinguished probably as edited and not composed by Moses. In view of the usage of the rest of this *Beraitha*, we cannot be sure whether it means that Moses edited the law and Job, or whether here "wrote" means authorship. The same uncertainty hangs over the references to Joshua, Samuel, Jeremiah, and Ezra.

The statements of the *Beraitha*, therefore, seem rather to concern official editorship than authorship, and it distinguishes no less than eight stages of redaction of the Old Testament Scriptures: (1) By Moses, (2) Joshua,

(3) Samuel, (4) David, (5) Hezekiah and his college, (6) Jeremiah, (7) the men of the great synagogue, (8) Ezra.

The Gemara in its commentary upon this passage enlarges this work of redaction so as to give a number of additional prophets a hand in it. Joshua, completes the work of Moses, Eleazar the work of Joshua, and Phineas his work; Gad and Nathan finish the work of Samuel, then come David, Hezekiah, Jeremiah, the men of the great synagogue; and Nehemiah finishes the work of Ezra. It is easy to see that all this is pure conjecture, and of little value for purposes of criticism.

IV. HELLENISTIC AND CHRISTIAN THEORIES.

Having considered the Rabbinical Tradition, we are now prepared to examine that of the Jewish historian, Josephus. His general statement is:

"We have not myriads of books among us disagreeing and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two, comprising the history of all past time, justly worthy of belief. And five of them are those of Moses, which comprise the law and the tradition of the generation of mankind until his death. This time extends to a little less than three thousand years. From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets after Moses composed that which transpired in their times in thirteen books. The other four books present hymns to God and rules of life for men."*

"And now David, being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre: some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters."†

Josephus' views as to Hebrew literature vary somewhat from the Talmud. He strives to exalt the Hebrew Scriptures in every way as to style, antiquity, and variety

* *Contra Apion.*, I., § 8.

† *Antiq.*, vii. 12.

above the classic literature of Greece. He represents Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, even the last eight verses describing his own death.* We do not hesitate to reject his views of the number and arrangement of the books in the canon, or his statements as to the metres of Hebrew poetry; we certainly cannot accept his authority, without criticism, in questions of authorship. Philo agrees with Josephus in making Moses the author of the narrative of his own death,† but has little to say about matters that concern the higher criticism.

A still more ancient and higher authority in some respects than the Talmud or Josephus is the apocalypse of Ezra, from the first Christian century, printed among the apocryphal books in the English Bible, and preserved in five versions, and used not infrequently by the fathers as if it were inspired Scripture. This tradition represents that the law and all the holy books were burned at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and lost; that Ezra under divine inspiration restored them all, and also composed seventy others to be delivered to the wise as the esoteric wisdom for the interpretation of the twenty-four.‡

* *Antiq.*, iv. 8, 48.

† *Life of Moses*, III. 39.

‡ Ezra saith: "For thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the works that shall begin. But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Ghost unto me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning which were written in thy law, that men may find thy path," etc. . . . "Come hither, (saith God), and I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart which shall not be put out till the things be performed which thou shalt begin to write. And when thou hast done, some things shalt thou publish, and some things shalt thou show secretly to the wise. . . . The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and the unworthy may read it; but keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people, for in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom and the stream of knowledge" (xiv. 19-46).

This view of the restoration of the Old Testament writings by Ezra was advocated by some of the fathers. Clement of Alexandria * says:

"Since the Scriptures perished in the captivity of Nebuchadnezzar, Esdras the Levite, the priest, in the time of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, having become inspired, in the exercise of prophecy restored again the whole of the ancient Scriptures."

So, also, Tertullian,† Chrysostom,‡ an ancient writing attributed to Augustine,§ the heretical Clementine homilies.¶ Another common opinion of the fathers is represented by Irenæus: ¶

"During the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, the Scriptures had been corrupted, and when, after seventy years, the Jews had returned to their own land, then in the time of Artaxerxes, King of the Persians, [God] inspired Esdras the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to recast all the words of former prophets, and to re-establish with the people the Mosaic legislation."

So, also, Theodoret** and Basil.†† Jerome ‡‡ says with reference to this tradition: "Whether you wish to say that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch, or that Ezra restored it, is indifferent to me." Bellarmin §§ is of the opinion that the books of the Jews were not entirely lost, but that Ezra corrected those that had become corrupted, and improved the copies he restored.

Jerome, in the fourth century, relied largely upon

* *Stromata*, i. 22.

† *De cultu foeminarum*, c. 3.

‡ *Hom.* viii., in *Epist. Hebræos*, Migne's edition, xvii. p. 74.

§ *De mirabilibus sacræ scripturæ*, II. 33, printed with Augustine's works, but not genuine.

¶ *Hom.* iii. c. 47.

¶ *Adv. Hæreses*, iii. 21, 2.

** *Praef. in Psalmos*.

†† *Epist. ad Chilonem*, Migne's edition, IV., p. 358. See Simon, *Hist. Crit. de Vieux Test.*, Amsterd. 1685, and Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraph.* Hamburg, 1722, p. 1156, seq.

‡‡ *Adv. Hæreses*.

§§ *De verbo Dei*, lib. 2.

Jewish rabbinical authority, and gave his great influence toward bringing the fluctuating traditions in the church into more accordance with the rabbinical traditions, but he could not entirely succeed. He held that the orphan Psalms belonged as a rule to the previous ones, and in general followed the rabbins in associating the sacred writings with the familiar names—Moses, David, Solomon, Jeremiah, Ezra, and so on. There is, however, no consensus of the fathers on these topics.

Junilius, in the midst of the sixth century, author of the first extant Introduction,* a reproduction of a lost work of his instructor, Paul of Nisibis, of the Antiochian school of Exegesis, presents a view which may be regarded as representing very largely the Oriental and Western churches. He divides the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments into 17 histories, 17 prophecies, 2 proverbial, and 17 doctrinal writings. Under authorship, he makes the wise discrimination between those having their authors indicated in their titles and introductions, and those whose authorship rested purely on tradition, including in the latter the Pentateuch and Joshua.†

This work of Junilius held its own as an authority in the Western church until the Reformation. It would

* *Institutio regularis Divinae Legis.*

† "Scriptores divinatorum librorum qua ratione cognoscimus? Tribus modis: aut ex titulis et proemiliis ut propheticos libros et apostoli epistolae, aut ex titulis tantum et evangelistas, aut ex traditione veterum ut Moyses traditur scripsisse quinque primos libros historiae, cum non dicat hoc titulus nec ipse referat 'dixit dominus ad me,' sed quasi de alio 'dixit dominus ad Moysen.' Similiter et Jesu Nave liber ab eo quo nuncupatur traditur scriptus, et primum regum librum Samuel scripsisse perhibetur. Sciendum praeterea quod quorundam librorum penitus ignorantur auctores ut Judicum et Ruth et Regum III. ultimi et cetera similia, quod ideo credendum est divinitus dispensatum, ut alii quoque divini libri non auctorum merito, sed sancti spiritus gratia tantum culmen auctoritatis obtinuisse noscantur." (§ viii. 2; see Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, pp. 319-320).

be difficult to define a consensus of the first Christian century or of the fathers in regard to the authorship of the historical books of the Old Testament or other questions of the higher criticism. The variant traditions, unfixed and fluctuating, came down to the men of the eighteenth century to be tested by the Scriptures, and by the principles of the higher criticism, and they found no *consensus patrum* and no *orthodox symbolical doctrines* in their way.

V. THE NEW TESTAMENT VIEW OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

It is claimed, however, that Jesus and His apostles have determined these questions for us, and that their divine authority relieves us of any obligation to investigate further, as their testimony is final. This does not seem to have been the view of Junilius or the fathers. So far as we can ascertain, this argument was first urged in opposition to Peyrerius by Maresius,* and pressed by Heidegger, the Swiss scholastic, who sided with Buxtorf and Owen against Cappellus and Walton. But the argument having been advanced by these divines, and fortified by the Lutheran scholastic Carpzov, and maintained by Hengstenberg, Keil, and Horne, and by a large number of scholars who lean on these authorities, it is necessary for us to test it. Clericus went too far when he said that Jesus Christ and His apostles did not come into the world to preach criticism to the Jews.† The

* Maresius, *Refutatio Fabulae Preadamitæ*, 1656; Heidegger, *Exercit. Biblica*, 1700; *Dissert.* ix., p. 250, seq.

† In *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Holland sur l' Histoire Critique*, p. 126, Amst., 1685, Clericus says: "Jesus Christ et ses Apôtres n'étant pas venus au monde, pour enseigner la Critique au Juifs, il ne faut pas s'étonner, s'ils parlent selon l'opinion commune."

response of Hermann Witsius, that Jesus came to teach the truth, and could not be imposed upon by common ignorance, or be induced to favor vulgar errors, is just.*

And yet we cannot altogether deny the principle of accommodation in the life and teachings of Jesus. The principle of accommodation is a part of the wonderful condescension of the divine grace to human weakness, ignorance, and sinfulness. Jesus teaches that Moses, because of the hardness of their hearts, suffered ancient Israel to divorce their wives for reasons which the higher dispensation will not admit as valid (Matt. xix. 8). The divine revelation is a training-school for the disciple, ever reserving from him what he is unable to bear, and holding forth the promise of greater light to those using the light they have.

"It is not required in a religious or inspired teacher, nor indeed would it be prudent or right, to shock the prejudices of his uninformed hearers, by inculcating truths which they are unprepared to receive. If he would reap a harvest, he must prepare the ground before he attempts to sow the seed. Neither is it required of such an one to persist in inculcating religious instruction after such evidence of its rejection as is sufficient to prove incurable obstinacy. Now it must be granted that in most of these cases there is accommodation. The teacher omits, either altogether or in part, certain religious truths, and, perhaps, truths of great importance, in accommodation to the incompetency and weakness of those whom he has to instruct. . . . It appears, then, that accommodation may be allowed in matters which have no connection with religion, and in these, too, so far as regards the degree and the form of instruction.

* "Enim vero non fuere Christus et Apostoli Critices doctores, quales se haberi postulant, qui hodie sibi regnum litterarum in quavis vindicant scientia; fuerunt tamen doctores veritatis, neque passi sunt sibi per communem ignorantiam aut procerum astum imponi. Non certe in mundum venere ut vulgares errores foverunt, suaque auctoritate munirent, nec per Judæos solum sed et populos unice, a se pendentes longe lateque spargerent."—*Misc. Sacra*, I., p. 117.

But positive accommodation to religious error is not to be found in Scripture, neither is it justifiable in moral principle." *

Jesus withheld from the twelve apostles many things of vast importance which they could not know then, but should know hereafter (John xiii. 7). Jesus did not enter into any further conflict with the errors of His time than was necessary for His purposes of grace in the Gospel. He exercised a wise prudence and a majestic reserve in matters of indifference and minor importance, and was never premature in declaring Himself and the principles of His Gospel. There were no sufficient reasons why He should correct the prevailing views as to the Old Testament books, and by His authority determine these literary questions. He could not teach error, but he could and did constantly forbear with reference to errors. Polygamy and slavery have been defended from the New Testament because Jesus and His apostles did not declare against them. If all the views of the men of the time of Christ are to be pronounced valid which He did not pronounce against, we shall be involved in a labyrinth of difficulties.

The authority of Jesus Christ, to all who know Him to be their divine Saviour, outweighs all other authority whatever. A Christian man must follow His teachings in all things as the guide into all truth. The authority of Jesus Christ is involved in that of the apostles. What, then, do Jesus and His apostles teach as to the questions of higher criticism? If they used the language of the day in speaking of the Old Testament books, it does not follow that they adopted any of the various views of authorship and editorship that went

* Dr. S. H. Turner, in his edition of Planck's *Introduction to Sacred Philology*. Edin., 1834, pp. 275-277. New York, 1834, p. 280, *seq.*

with these terms in the Talmud, or in Josephus, or in the apocalypse of Ezra, for we are not to interpret their words on this or on any other subject by Josephus, or the Mishna, or the apocalypse of Ezra, or any such external authorities, but by the plain grammatical and contextual sense of their words themselves. From the various New Testament passages we present the following summary of what is taught on these subjects:

I. Of the *Hagiographa* the only ones used in the New Testament in connection with names of persons are the Psalter and Daniel. With reference to Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, and Ruth, the New Testament gives no evidence whatever in questions of the higher criticism.* (1) With reference to the Psalter, citations are made from Ps. lxix. 26; cix. 8 (in Acts i. 16-20); ii. 1, *seq.* (in Acts iv. 25); as "by the mouth of David"; from xxxii. 1, *seq.* (in Rom. iv. 6); lxix. 23 (in Rom. xi. 9); xvi. 8-11 (in Acts ii. 25-29); cx. 1 (in Acts ii. 34), as "David saith"; and cx. 1 (in Matt. xxii. 43-45; Mark xii. 36, 37; Luke xx. 42-44); under various terms in the parallel passages as, "David in the Spirit calls him Lord"; "David himself said in the Holy Spirit"; "David himself saith in the book of Psalms." The maximum of evidence here is as to the Davidic authorship of Pss. ii., xvi., xxxii., lxix., cix., and cx., in all six psalms out of the 150 contained in the Psalter. As to the rest, there is no use of them in connection with the name of an author. There is, however, a passage upon which the Davidic authorship of the entire Psalter has

* For a fuller discussion of this subject, we would refer to the exhaustive paper of Prof. Francis Brown, *The New Testament Witness to the Authorship of Old Testament Books* in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1882, p. 95, *seq.*

been based, *e. g.*, Heb. iv. 7; * where a citation from Ps

* Thus, William Gouge, one of the most honored Puritan divines, in his *Commentary on Hebrews*, in discussing this passage, says:

"From the mention of David in reference to the Psalm, we may probably conclude that David was the penman of the whole Book of Psalms, especially from this phrase, 'David himself saith in the Book of Psalms' (Luke xx. 42). Some exceptions are made against this conclusion, but such as may readily be answered.

"*Objection 1.*—Sundry psalms have not the title of *David* prefixed before them; they have no title at all, as the first, second, and others. *Ans.*—If they have no title, why should they not be ascribed to David, rather than to any other, considering that the Book of Psalms is indefinitely attributed to him (as we heard out of the forementioned place, Luke xx. 42), which is the title prefixed before all the Psalms, as comprising them all under it? Besides, such testimonies as are taken out of Psalms that have no title are applied to David, as Acts iv. 25, and this testimony that is here taken out of Psalm xcv. 7.

"*Objection 2.*—Some titles are ascribed to other authors; as Psalms lxxii., cxvii. to Solomon. *Ans.*—The Hebrew servile *lamed* is variously taken and translated; as sometimes, *of*, Psalm iii. 1, 'A Psalm of David.' Then it signifieth the author: Thus it is used in most titles, especially when they are applied to David. Other time this is translated *for*, as Psalm lxxii. 1 and cxvii. In these it implieth that the Psalm was penned *for* Solomon's use or for his instruction. It may also be thus translated, *concerning Solomon*. That the lxxii. Psalm was penned by David is evident by the close thereof, in these words: 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.'

"*Objection 3.*—Some titles ascribe the Psalm to this or that Levite, as Psalm lxxxviii. to Heman, and lxxxix. to Ethan. Yea, twelve Psalms to Asaph and eleven to the sons of Korah. *Ans.*—All these were very skillful, not only in singing, but also in setting tunes to Psalms. They were musick masters. Therefore, David, having penned the Psalms, committed them to the foresaid Levites to be fitly tuned. . . . It will not follow that any of them were enditers of any of the Psalms, because their name is set in the title of some of them.

"*Objection 4.*—The xcth Psalm carrieth this title: 'A Prayer of Moses the Man of God.' *Ans.*—It is said to be the prayer of Moses in regard of the substance and general matter of it; but, as a Psalm, it was penned by David. He brought it into that form. David, as a prophet, knew that Moses had uttered such a prayer in the substance of it; therefore, he prefixeth that title before it.

"*Objection 5.*—The cxxxviii Psalm doth set down the disposition and carriage of the Israelites in the Babylonish Captivity, which was six hundred forty years after David's time, and the cxxvth Psalm sets out their return from that Captivity. *Ans.*—To grant these to be so, yet might David pen those Psalms; for, by a prophetic spirit, he might foresee what would fall out and answerably pen Psalms fit thereunto. Moses did the like (Deut. xxix. 22, etc., and xxxi. 21, 22, etc.). A man of God expressly set down distinct acts of Joshua 330 years before they fell out (1 Kings xiii. 2). Isaiah did the like of Cyrus (Is. xlv. 28; xlv. 1), which was about two hundred years beforehand."

xcv. 7-8 is given "as the Holy Spirit saith in David, ἐν Δαυὶδ." This only means that David was the name of the Psalter and this title was used interchangeably with the book of Psalms, or Psalms. The question of integrity is raised by the citation of our Psalm ii. as Psalm i., according to the best manuscripts in Actῶ xiii. 33.* Were these two Psalms combined in one at the time, or was the first Psalm regarded as introductory and not counted? Both views are supported by MSS. and citations.

(2) Daniel xi. 31 or xii. 11 is used in Matt. xxiv. 15 under the formula, "that which was spoken by Daniel the prophet." With reference to this, we will simply quote the judicious words of Prof. Brown :

"It will be remembered that the passage cited in Matt. xxiv. 15 is from the second division of the book, a division which, with the exception of certain brief introductory notes, contains prophecies exclusively, and that this division is distinctly marked off from the preceding by the nature of its contents, and by the brief introduction, Dan. vii. 1. Now, suppose evidence were to be presented from other quarters to show that while the book as a whole was not written by Daniel, the last six chapters contained prophecies of Daniel, which the later author had incorporated in his book. On that supposition, the words of Jesus taken in their most rigid, literal meaning would be perfectly satisfied. We may go yet further. If other evidence should be adduced tending to show that 'Daniel, the prophet,' was a pseudonym, still there would be nothing in Jesus' use of the expression to commit Him to any other view. For the words were certainly written, and written in the form of a prophecy, and were a prophecy, and the book containing them was an inspired, canonical, and authoritative book; the citation was, therefore, suitable and forcible for Jesus' purposes, whoever the author may have been, and the use of a current pseudonym to designate the author no more committed Jesus to a declaration that that was the author's real name, than our use of the expression 'Junius says' would com-

* So Tischendorf, *Critica Major*, *Editio Octava*.

mit us to a declaration that the 'Letters of Junius' were composed by a person of that name; or than, on the supposition already discussed, that 'Enoch' was regarded as a pseudonym, Jude 14 would indicate the belief of the author that Enoch himself actually uttered the words which he quotes." *

II. *The Prophets.* (1) The only one of the prophetic historical books mentioned in connection with a name is Samuel, in Acts iii. 24: "All the prophets from Samuel and them that followed after, as many as have spoken, they also told of these days." The reference here is to the book of Samuel, for the reason that there is no Messianic prophecy ascribed to Samuel in the Old Testament. The context forces us to think of such an one. We find it in the prophecy of Nathan in the book of Samuel. These historical books then bore the name of Samuel, and their contents are referred to as Samuel's. As to Joshua, Judges, and Kings we have no use of them in such a way as to raise questions of higher criticism.

(2) Of the prophetic writings in particular the New Testament refers only to Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Joel in connection with names. Ezekiel and ten of the minor prophets are not used in such a way as to raise questions of higher criticism except Jonah, who is referred to as a prophet in connection with his preaching to the Ninevites and to his abode in the belly of the great fish (Matt. xii. 39-41), but no reference as such is made to the book that bears his name in connection with his name. The question whether Jonah is history or fiction is not decided by Jesus' use of it—for as a parable it answered His purpose no less than if it were history.

(3) Hosea i. 10; ii. 23 are quoted Rom. ix. 25, as "in

* In *l. c.*, pp. 106, 107.

Hosea." This is probably nothing more than the name of the writing used. Joel ii. 28-32 is quoted in Acts ii. 16 as, "This is that which was said through the prophet Joel."

(4) Jeremiah is cited in Matt. ii. 17; xxvii. 9, under the formula, "that which was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet saying." The former citation is from Jeremiah (xxxi. 15), the latter from Zechariah (xi. 12-13). This raises the question of the integrity of Zechariah. On the basis of this passage chaps. ix.-xi. of Zechariah were ascribed to Jeremiah by Mede, Hammond, and Kidder (see p. 169). But it is now generally conceded that the evangelist has made a mistake, and this raises the question how far errors of this character affect the credibility of a writing.

(5) Isaiah is frequently used in the formula, "through Isaiah the prophet saying": Is. xl. 3 (in Matt. iii. 3); Is. ix. 1 *seq.* (Matt. iv. 14); Is. liii. 4 (in Matt. viii. 17); Is. xlii. 1-4 (in Matt. xii. 17); Is. vi. 9 *seq.* (Acts xxviii. 25); so with the formula "Isaiah said," Is. xl. 3 (John i. 23); Is. vi. 9 *seq.* (in John xii. 39-41); Is. liii. 1 (in Rom. x. 16); Is. lxxv. 1 *seq.* (Rom. x. 20); Is. xi. 10 (Rom. xv. 12); "the book of the prophet Isaiah," Is. xl. 3-5 (Luke iii. 4); Is. lxi. 1-2 (Luke iv. 17); "word of Isaiah the prophet," Is. liii. 1 (John xii. 38); "reading the prophet Isaiah," Is. liii. 7 (Acts viii. 28-30); "Isaiah cries out," Is. x. 22 *seq.* (Rom. ix. 27); "Isaiah foretold," Is. i. 9 (Rom. ix. 20); "the prophecy of Isaiah," Is. vi. 9 (Matt. xiii. 14); "Isaiah prophesied," Is. xxix. 13 (Matt. xv. 7); Is. xxix. 13 (Mark vii. 6). Besides these there is a passage of more difficulty in Mark i. 2, where, with the formula, "written in Isaiah the prophet," are cited Mal. iii. 1 and Is. xl. 3. This seems to be a clear case in which the evangelist has overlooked

the fact that one of his citations is from Malachi. This raises the question how far a slip like this is consistent with credibility. The various formulas of citation seem on the surface to imply the authorship of our book of Isaiah by the prophet Isaiah, and also its essential integrity, inasmuch as the citations are from all parts of the book. But we have found that Samuel is represented as prophesying, when the prophecy is by Nathan in the book that bore the name of Samuel. How can we be sure that this is not the case with Isaiah, likewise in the phrases, "through Isaiah the prophet, saying," "Isaiah said," "words of Isaiah the prophet," "Isaiah cries out," "Isaiah foretold," "Isaiah prophesied"? The phrases, "book of the prophet Isaiah," "reading the prophet Isaiah," "prophecy of Isaiah," certainly imply nothing more than naming the book. The presumption of the New Testament is in favor of the authorship of Isaiah, but, in the face of other decisive evidence to the contrary, does not force us to any other conclusion than that the book as a whole bore the name of Isaiah.

III. Of the *Pentateuch*. (1) Jesus speaks of the law of Moses (John vii. 23) and the book of Moses (Mark xii. 26). The evangelist uses Moses for the Pentateuch (Luke xxiv. 27). So the apostles refer to the law of Moses (Acts xxviii. 23), and use Moses for the Pentateuch (Acts xv. 21; 2 Cor. iii. 15). These are all cases of *naming* books cited. They have as their parallel David as the name of the Psalter in Heb. iv. 7; Acts iv. 25; Samuel, also of the book of Samuel, Acts iii. 24. It is certainly reasonable to interpret Moses in these passages in the same way as the name of the work containing his legislation, and the history in which he is the central figure.

(2) Jesus represents Moses as a lawgiver, giving the

Ten Commandments (Mark vii. 10), the law of the lepers' offering (Mark i. 44, etc.), the law of divorce (Matt. xix. 7), the law in general (John vii. 19). The epistle to the Hebrews represents Moses as giving the law of priesthood (Heb. vii. 14), and as a lawgiver whose law when issued at the time could not be disobeyed with impunity (Heb. x. 28). These passages all represent Moses to be the *lawgiver* that he appears to be in the narratives of the Pentateuch, but do not, by any means, imply the *authorship* of those narratives that contain these laws, any more than the reference in 1 Cor. ix. 14, to the command of Christ in Luke x. 7, and the institution of the Lord's supper by Jesus (1 Cor. xi. 23 *seq.*), imply that Jesus was the author of the gospels containing His words.

(3) Jesus represents Moses as a prophet who wrote of Him (John v. 46, 47); so Philip (John i. 45); Peter (Acts iii. 22-24); Stephen (Acts vii. 37); Paul (Acts xxvi. 22), and in Rom. x. 5, 19 the apostle refers to the address in Deut. xxx. and the song Deut. xxxii. These passages maintain that certain *prophecies* came from Moses, but do not maintain that the Pentateuch, as a whole, or the narratives in which these prophecies occur, were written by Moses.

(4) Certain historical events narrated in the Pentateuch in which Moses takes the lead, are mentioned (in Heb. viii. 5, ix. 19, xii. 21, etc.), but these simply teach the *historical* character of the transactions, not the exclusive Mosaic authorship of the writings containing these historical incidents.

(5) In the passage, Acts iii. 22, "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you, etc. . . . Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have

spoken, have likewise foretold of these days," it is necessary to interpret "Samuel" of the book of Samuel, and think of the prophecy of Nathan; and if this be so, is it not most natural to interpret "Moses" here as also referring to the book of Deuteronomy rather than the person of Moses? If that be true in this case, it may also be true of other cases classed under (2) and (3). Samuel cannot, it is now generally admitted, be regarded as the author of the book that bears his name; why, then, are we forced to conclude from these passages that Moses is the author of the books that bear his name?

It has been objected that this method of determining what the words of Jesus and His apostles *may* mean in detail does not show what they *must* mean when taken together. It has, however, been forgotten by the objectors that the proper exegetical method is inductive and that the path of exegesis is to rise from the particulars to the general. The dogmatic method is in the habit of saying a passage *must* mean thus and so from dogmatic presuppositions. The exegete prefers the *may* until he is forced to the *must*. He has learned to place little confidence in the "must mean" of tradition and dogmatism; for he has so often been obliged to lay it aside as *impossible* from exegetical considerations. Who, then, is to say *must* in the interpretation of the New Testament exterior to itself? Is the Talmud to say *must* to the words of our Lord Jesus? Is the traitor Josephus, or the pseudepigraph IV. Ezra to say *must* in an interpretation of the apostles? Nay. We let them speak for themselves, and if we are to choose between a variety of possible interpretations of their words we prefer to let *higher criticism* decide. For higher criticism is exact and thorough in its methods and prefers the internal evidence of the Old Testament books them-

selves to any external evidence. This may bring Jesus into conflict with Josephus and the rabbins and with traditional theories; but it is more likely to bring Him into harmony with Moses and the prophets. Prof. B. Weiss has well said in another connection:

"However certainly, therefore, the religious ideas of later Judaism, as well as the doctrines of Jewish Theology, had an influence upon the forming of the religious consciousness as it is exhibited in the writings of the New Testament, our knowledge of the extent in which these ideas and doctrines lay within the field of vision of the writers of the New Testament is far from being precise enough to permit us to start from them in ascertaining that religious consciousness. It is only in the rarest cases that biblical theology will be able to make use of them with certainty for the purpose of elucidation." *

No one could emphasize the importance of historical exegesis more than we are disposed to do; but we cannot allow traditionalists—who are the last to use this method except when, for the time being, it serves their purposes—by the improper use of it, to force upon criticism interpretations that are possible but not necessary, and which are excluded by other and higher considerations presented by the word of God as contained in the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

It has been a common literary usage for centuries to represent a book as speaking by the name by which it is known, whether that be a pseudonyme, or indicate the subject matter or the author. To insist that it must always in the New Testament indicate authorship is to go in the face of the literary usage of the world, and against the usage of the New Testament itself, certainly in the cases of Samuel and David and, therefore, possibly in other cases also, such as Moses and Isaiah.

* *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, T. & T. Clark's edition. Edin. 1882, I., p. 14.

We have shown that the questions of higher criticism have not been determined for us by the ecclesiastical authority of creeds or the consensus of tradition. And it is a merciful Providence that this has not been the case. For it would have committed the church and Christians to many errors which have been exposed by a century of progress in the higher criticism. Those who still insist upon opposing higher criticism with traditional views and with the supposed authority of Jesus Christ and His apostles, do not realize the perils of the situation. Are they ready to risk the divinity of Christ, the authority of the Bible, and the existence of the church, upon *their* interpretation of the words of Jesus and His apostles? Do they not see that they throw up a wall that will prevent any critic who is an unbeliever from ever becoming a believer in Christ and the Bible? They would force evangelical critics to choose between truth and scholarly research on the one side, and Christ and tradition on the other. The issue is plain, the result is not doubtful --the obstructionists will give way in this matter as they have already in so many other matters. The Bible will vindicate itself against those who, like the friends of Job, have not spoken right concerning God (Job xlii. 7), in presuming to defend Him.

VI. THE RISE OF HIGHER CRITICISM.

The current critical theories are the resultants of forces at work in the church since the Reformation. These forces have advanced steadily and constantly. In each successive epoch scholars have investigated afresh the sacred records and brought forth treasures new as well as old. Various theories have been proposed from time to time to account for the new facts that have been brought to light. Biblical science has shared the fortune

of the entire circle of the sciences. The theories have been modified or discarded under the influence of additional investigations and the discovery of new facts for which they could not account. The facts have remained in every case as a permanent acquisition of biblical criticism, and these facts have gradually accumulated in mass and importance until they now command the services of a large body of enthusiastic investigators. They have gained the ear of the literary world and enlist the interest of all intelligent persons. The questions of biblical criticism have arisen to a position among the great issues of our time, and no one can any longer ignore them.

All great movements of human thought have their preliminary and initial stages, and are preceded by spasmodic efforts. Even the enemies of the true faith not infrequently become the providential agents for calling the church to a fresh investigation of the sacred oracles. Thus Spinoza, the apostate Jew and pantheistic philosopher, applied historical criticism to the Old Testament books,* and concluded that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch, and that the historical books from Genesis through the books of Kings constitute one great historical work, a conglomeration of many different originals by one editor, probably Ezra, who does not succeed in a reconciliation of differences, and a complete and harmonious arrangement. The books of Chronicles he places in the Maccabean period. The Psalms were collected and divided into five books in the time of the second temple. The book of Proverbs was collected at the earliest in the time of Josiah. The prophetic books are collections of different fragments without regard to their original order. Daniel, Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah are

* *Tract. Theo. Polit.*, 1670, c. 8.

from the same author, who would continue the great historical work of Israel from the captivity onwards, written in the Maccabean period. Job was probably, as Aben Ezra conjectured, translated into Hebrew from a foreign tongue.* This criticism was shrewd, but chiefly *conjectural*. It paved the way for future systematic investigations.

Soon after Spinoza, Richard Simon,† a Roman Catholic, began to apply *historical* criticism in a systematic manner to the study of the books of the Old Testament. He represented the historical books as made up of the ancient writings of the prophets, who were public scribes, and wrote down the history in official documents on the spot, from the time of Moses onward, so that the Pentateuch in its present shape is not by Moses. Simon distinguished in the Pentateuch between that which was written by Moses, *e. g.*, the commands and ordinances; and that written by the prophetic scribes, the greater part of the history. As the books of Kings and Chronicles were made up by abridgments and summaries of the ancient acts preserved in the archives of the nation, so was the Pentateuch (p. 17, *seq.*). The later prophets edited the works of the earlier prophets and added explanatory statements. Simon presents as evidences that Moses did not write the Pentateuch: (1) The double account of the deluge. (2) The lack of order in the arrangement of the narratives and laws. (3) The diversity of the style. The Roman Catholic scholar goes deeper into the subject than the Pantheist Spinoza has gone. He presents another class of evidences. These three lines were not sufficiently worked by Simon. He fell

* See Siegfried, *Spinoza als Kritiker und Ausleger des Alten Testament*. Berlin, 1867.

† *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, 1678.

into the easy temptation of expending his strength on the elaboration and justification of his theory. The facts he discovered have proved of permanent value, and have been worked as a rich mine by later scholars, but his theory was at once attacked and destroyed. The Arminian Clericus, in an anonymous work,* assailed Simon for his abuse of Protestant writers, but really went to greater lengths than Simon. He distinguishes in the Pentateuch three classes of facts, those before Moses, those during his time, and those subsequent to his death; and represents the Pentateuch in its present form as composed by the priest sent from Babylon to instruct the inhabitants of Samaria in the religion of the land, 2 Kings xvii.† Afterward he gave up this wild theory and took the more tenable ground‡ of interpolations by a later editor. Anton Van Dale§ distinguishes between the Mosaic code and the Pentateuch, which latter Ezra composed from other writings, historical and prophetic, inserting the Mosaic code as a whole in his work. This is also essentially the view of Semler.]

These various writers brought to light a most valuable collection of facts that demanded the attention of biblical scholars of all creeds and phases of thought. They all made the mistake of proposing untenable *theories* of various kinds to account for the facts, instead of working upon the facts and rising from them by induction and generalization to permanent results. Some of them,

* *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Holland sur l'Histoire Critique*, Amst., 1685.

† In *l. c.*, pp. 107, 129.

‡ *Com. on Genesis, introd. de Scriptore Pent.*, § 11. Simon replied to Clericus in *Réponse au Livre intitulé Sentimens*, etc. Par Le Prieur de Bolleville, Rotterdam, 1686.

§ *De origine et progressu idol.*, 1636, p. 71, and *epist. ad Morin.*, p. 686.

|| *Apparatus ad liberalem Vel. Test. Interp.*, 1773, p. 67.

like Spinoza, were animated by a spirit more or less hostile to the evangelical faith. Others, like Clericus, were heterodox in other matters. The most important investigations were those of the Roman Catholics.

Over against these critical attacks on the traditional theories, we note the scholastic defence of them by Huet, a Jesuit; * Heidegger, † and Carpzov. ‡ These scholastic divines, instead of seeking to account for the facts brought to light by the critics, proceeded to defend traditional views and explain away the facts.

There were, however, other divines who looked the facts in the face and took a better way. Thus Du Pin § Witsius, || Spanheim, ¶ Prideaux, ** Vitranga, †† and Calmet, ‡‡ sought to explain the passages objected to either as improperly interpreted or as interpolations, recognizing the use of several documents and a later editorship by Ezra and others. They laid the foundations for evangelical criticism, which was about to begin and run a long and successful course.

It is instructive just here to pause by Du Pin, who lays down such admirable rules of literary criticism §§ with reference to ecclesiastical books. When Simon raises the question why he does not apply these rules to the Pentateuch, he replies by saying :

“ A man may say, that all these rules which I have laid down, are convincing and probable in different degrees, but that the sovereign

* In his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, 1679, IV., cap. xiv.

† *Exercitationes Biblicae*, 1700, *Dissert.* ix. 7.

‡ *Introduction ad Libros Canonicos Bib. Vet. Test.* Edit. ii., Lipsie, 1731.

§ *Dessert. prelim. Bib. des auteurs eccl.*, Paris, 1688. *A new History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, 3d edition, London, 1696, p. 1, *seq.*

|| *Misc. Sacra*, 1692, p. 103.

¶ *Historia ecclesiast. V. T.*, I., p. 260.

** *Old and New Testaments connected*, 1716-18, I., 5 (3).

†† *Observa. Sacra.*, c. IV., 2, 1722.

‡‡ *Com. litterale*, 1722, I., p. xlii.

§§ See Chap. IV., p. 88 *seq.*, of this book.

and principal rule is the judgment of equity and prudence, which instructs us to ballance the reasons of this and t'other side, in distinctly considering the conjectures that are made of both sides. Now this is the general rule of Rational Criticism, and we abuse all the rest if we don't chiefly make use of this" (in *L.c.*, p. 18).

In this way the difference between Simon and himself was easily reduced to good sense and nonsense. This method of settling difficult questions certainly stops debate between the parties for the moment, but is far from convincing.

Before passing over to the higher criticism of the Scriptures we shall present the views of this master of the literary criticism of his time, respecting the biblical books:

"Moses was the author of the first five books of the Pentateuch" (except sundry interpolations). . . . "We can't so certainly tell who are the authors of the other books of the Bible: some of 'em we only know by conjecture, and others there are of which we have no manner of knowledge." . . . "The time wherein Job lived, is yet more difficult to discover; and the author of the book, who has compiled his history, is no less unknown." . . . "Though the Psalms are commonly called *the Psalms of David*, or rather the *Book of the Psalms of David*, yet 'tis certain, as St. Jerom has observed in many places, that they are not all of 'em his, and that there are some of them written long after his death. 'Tis therefore a collection of songs that was made by Ezrah." . . . "The Proverbs or Parables belong to Solomon, whose name is written in the beginning of that book. . . . We ought therefore to conclude, . . . that the 24 first chapters are Solomon's originally, that the five following ones are extracts or collections of his proverbs, and that the two last chapters were added afterwards. . . . The book of Ecclesiastes is ascribed to Solomon by all antiquity: And yet the Talmudists have made Hezekiah the author of the book, and Grotius, upon some slight conjectures, pretends it was composed by Zerubabel. It begins with these words, *The Words of the Preacher, the Son of David, King of Jerusalem*; which may be applied to Hezekiah as well as to Solomon: . . . we ought rather to understand it of Solomon.

. . . . The Song of Songs, is allowed to be Solomon's by the consent of the synagogue and the church. The Talmudists attribute it to Ezra, but without grounds. The books of the Prophets carry the names of their authors undisputed" (in *l. c.*, pp. 1-5).

About the same time several Roman Catholic divines, as well as Vitranga, took ground independently in favor of the theory of the use of written documents by Moses in the composition of Genesis. So Abbé Fleury,* and Abbé Laurent François;† but it was chiefly Astruc, a R. C. physician, who in 1753‡ made it evident that Genesis was composed of several documents. He presented to the learned world, with some hesitation and timidity, his discovery that the use of the divine names, *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, divided the book of Genesis into two great memoirs and nine lesser ones.

This was a real discovery, which, after a hundred years of debate, has at last won the consent of the vast majority of biblical scholars. His analysis is in some respects too mechanical, and, in not a few instances, is defective and needed rectification, but as a whole it has been maintained. He relies also too much upon the different use of the divine names, and too little upon variations in style, language, and narrative. The attention of German scholars was called to this discovery by Jerusalem.§ Eichhorn was independently led to the same conclusion.¶ But still more important than the work of As-

* *Moeurs des Israélites*, p. 6, Bruxelles, 1701. This was translated into English and enlarged by Adam Clarke. 3d edition, 1809.

† *Preuves de la Religion de Jesus Christ, contra les Spinozistes et les Déistes*, 1751, l. 2, c. 3, art. 7.

‡ In his *Conjectures sur les Memoires originaux dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour le livre de la Genèse*.

§ In his *Briefe über d. Mosaischen Schriften*, 1762, 3te Aufl., 1783, p. 104, seq.

¶ *Urgeschichte in the Repertorium*, T. iv., 1779, especially T. v., 1779.

truc was that of Bishop Lowth,* who unfolded the principles of parallelism in Hebrew poetry, and made it possible to study the Old Testament as literature, discriminating poetry from prose, and showing that the greater part of prophecy is poetical. His work on Hebrew poetry was issued in Germany by Michaelis, and his translation of Isaiah by Koppe, who took the position that this prophetic book was made up of a number of documents loosely put together from different authors and different periods.† Lowth himself did not realize the importance of this discovery for the literary criticism of the Scriptures, but thought that it would prove of great service to *textual criticism* in the suggesting of emendations of the text in accordance with the parallelism of members.

The poet Herder ‡ first caught the Oriental spirit and life and brought to the attention of the learned the varied literary beauties of the Bible,§ and “reconquered, so to say, the Old Testament for German literature.” ¶

But these writers were all preparatory to the work of J. G. Eichhorn, in 1780.¶ Eichhorn combined in one

* In *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, 1753, and 1779 in *Prelim. Diss. and Translation of the Prophecies of Isaiah*.

† Koppe, *Robert Lowth's Jesaias neu übersetzt nebst einer Einleitung . . . mit Zusätze und Anmerkungen*, 4 Bde., Leipzig, 1779-80.

‡ In 1780 he published his *Briefe über das Studium der Theologie*, and in 1782 his *Geist der Heb. Poesie*.

§ Herder in his 1st *Brief* says: “Richard Simon is the Father of the Criticism of the Old and New Testaments in recent times.”—“A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, as it ought to be, we have not yet.” 1780. In 2d Auf., 1785. It is said on the margin, “We have it now in Eichhorn's valuable *Einleit. ins Alt. Test.*, 1780-83.”

¶ Dörner in *Johnson's Encyclopædia*, II., p. 528.

¶ *Einleit. ins Alt. Test.* As Bertheau remarks in Herzog's *Real Ency.*, I. Aufl., iv., 115: “In Eichhorn's writings the apologetic interest is everywhere manifest, to explain, as he expresses it, the Bible according to the ideas and methods of thought of the ancient world, and to defend it against the scorn of the enemies of the Bible. He recognized the exact problem of his times clearer

the results of Simon and Astruc, Lowth and Herder, embracing the various elements in an organic method which he called the *Higher Criticism*. In the preface to his second edition, 1787, he says :

"I am obliged to give the most pains to a hitherto entirely unworked field, the investigation of the internal condition of the particular writings of the Old Testament by help of the Higher Criticism (a new name to no Humanist). Let any one think what they will of these efforts, my own consciousness tells me that they are the result of very careful investigation, although no one can be less wrapt up in them than I their author. The powers of one man hardly suffice to complete such investigations so entirely at once. They demand a healthful and ever-cheerful spirit, and how long can any one maintain it in such toilsome investigations? They demand the keenest insight into the internal condition of every book; and who will not be dulled after a while?"

He begins his investigation of the books of Moses with the wise statement :

"Whether early or late? That can be learned only from the writings themselves. And if they are not by their own contents or other internal characteristic traces put down into a later century than they ascribe to themselves or Tradition assigns them, then a critical investigator must not presume to doubt their own testimony—else he is a contemptible *Räsonneur*, a doubter in the camp, and no longer an historical investigator. According to this plan I shall test the most ancient Hebrew writings, not troubling myself what the result of this investigation may be. And if therewith learning, shrewdness, and other qualifications which I desire for this work should fail me, yet, certainly no one will find lacking love of the truth and strict investigation."

than most of his contemporaries; he worked with unwearied diligence over the whole field of Biblical literature with his own independent powers; he paved the way to difficult investigations; he undertook many enterprises with good success, and conducted not a few of them to safe results. With Herder in common he has the credit of having awakened in wide circles love to the Bible, and especially the Old Testament writings, and excited enthusiasm carefully to investigate them."

These are the principles and methods of a true and manly scholar, the father of higher criticism. It is a sad reflection that they have been so greatly and generally ignored on the scholastic and rationalistic sides. Eichhorn separates the Elohist and Jehovistic documents in Genesis with great pains, and with such success that his analysis has been the basis of all critical investigation since his day. Its great advantages are admirably stated :

" For this discovery of the internal condition of the first books of Moses, party spirit will perhaps for a pair of decennials snort at the Higher Criticism instead of rewarding it with the full thanks that are due it, for (1) the credibility of the book gains by such a use of more ancient documents. (2) The harmony of the two narratives at the same time with their slight deviations proves their independence and mutual reliability. (3) Interpreters will be relieved of difficulty by this Higher Criticism which separates document from document. (4) Finally the gain of Criticism is also great. If the Higher Criticism has now for the first distinguished author from author, and in general characterized each according to his own ways, diction, favorite expressions, and other peculiarities, then her lower sister who busies herself only with words, and spies out false readings, has rules and principles by which she must test particular readings." *

Eichhorn carried his methods of higher criticism into the entire Old Testament with the hand of a master, and laid the foundation of views that have been maintained ever since with increasing determination. He did not always grasp the truth. He sometimes chased shadows, and framed visionary theories both in relation

* In *I. c.*, II., p. 329 ; see also *Urgeschichte in Repertorium*, 1770, V., p. 187. We cannot help calling attention to the fine literary sense of Eichhorn as manifest in the following extract : " Read it (Genesis) as two historical works of antiquity, and breathe thereby the atmosphere of its age and country. Forget then the century in which thou livest and the knowledge it affords thee ; and if thou canst not do this, dream not that thou wilt be able to enjoy the book in the spirit of its origin."

to the Old and New Testaments, like others who have preceded him and followed him. He could not transcend the limits of his age, and adapt himself to future discoveries. The labors of a large number of scholars, and the work of a century and more, were still needed, as Eichhorn modestly anticipated.

These discussions produced little impression upon Great Britain. The conflict with deism had forced the majority of her divines into a false position. If they had maintained the *fides divina* and the critical position of the reformers and Westminster divines, they would not have hesitated to look the facts in the face, and strive to account for them; they would not have committed the grave mistakes by which biblical learning was almost paralyzed in Great Britain for half a century.* Eager for the defence of traditional views, they, for the most part, fell back again on Jewish rabbinical authority and external evidence, contending with painful anxiety for authors and dates, and so antagonized higher criticism itself as deistic criticism and rationalistic criticism, not discriminating between those who were attacking the Scriptures in order to destroy them, and those who were *searching* the Scriptures in order to defend them. It is true that the humanist and the purely literary interest prevailed in Eichhorn and his school; they failed to apply the *fides divina* of the reformers, but this was lacking to the scholastics also, and so unhappily traditional dogmatism and rationalistic criticism combined to crush evangelical criticism.

* Mozley in his *Reminiscences*, 1882, Am. edit., Vol. II., p. 41, says: "There was hardly such a thing as Biblical Criticism in this country at the beginning of this century. Poole's Synopsis contained all that an ordinary clergyman could wish to know. Arnold is described as in all his glory at Rugby, with Poole's Synopses on one side, and Facciolati on the other."

VII. THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

There is a notable exception to the absence of the critical spirit in Great Britain, and that exception proves the rule. In 1792 Dr. Alexander Geddes, a Roman Catholic divine, proposed what has been called the fragmentary hypothesis to account for the structure of the Pentateuch and Joshua.* But this radical theory found no hospitality in Great Britain. It passed over into Germany through Vater,† and there entered into conflict with the documentary hypothesis of the school of Eichhorn. Koppe had proposed the fragmentary hypothesis to account for the literary features of the book of Isaiah (see p. 203), and so it was extended to other books of the Bible. Eichhorn had applied the documentary hypothesis to the gospels, Isaiah, and other parts of Scripture. The first stadium of the higher criticism is characterized by the conflict of the documentary and fragmentary hypotheses along the whole line. The result of this discussion was that the great variety of the elements that constitute our Bible became more and more manifest, and the problem was forced upon the critics to account for their combination.

De Wette‡ introduced the second stadium of the higher criticism by calling the attention of the critics to

* *The Holy Bible; or, the books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians*, etc. London, I., p. xviii., seq.

† *Commentar über den Pentateuch mit Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Abschnitten der eingeschalteten von Dr. Alex. Geddes' merkwürdigeren kritischen und exegetischen Anmerkungen*, etc. Halle, 1805.

‡ *Kritik der israelitischen Geschichte*, Halle, 1807; *Beiträge zur Einleit.* 1806-7; *Lehrb. d. hist. krit. Einleit. in d. Bibel Alten und Neuen Testaments* Berlin, 1817-26.

the genesis of the documents.* Gesenius supported him,† and sharply opposed the fragmentary hypothesis of Koppe, and strove to account for the genesis of the documents of Isaiah and their combination. Other critics in great numbers worked in the same direction, such as Bleek, Ewald, Knobel, Hupfeld, and produced a great mass of historical and critical work upon all parts of the Old Testament. The same problems were discussed in the New Testament, especially with reference to the gospels, the order of their production, and their interrelation.‡ A great number of different theories were advanced to account for the genesis of the different books of the Bible. The result of the conflict has been the conviction on the part of most critics that the unity of the writings in the midst of the variety of documents, has been accomplished by careful and skilful editing at different periods of biblical history.

It became more and more evident that the problems were assuming larger dimensions and that they could not be solved until the several edited writings were compared with one another and considered in their relation to the development of the biblical religion. The higher criticism thus entered upon a third stadium of its history. This stadium was opened for the New Testament by the Tübingen school, and for the Old Testament by the school of Reuss. These entered into conflict with the older views and soon showed their insufficiency to account for the larger problems. They reconstructed the biblical writings upon purely naturalistic principles, so

* See author's article *A Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism, with special reference to the Pentateuch*, *Presbyterian Review*, IV., p. 94, *seq.*

† *Com. d. d. Jesaia*, Leipzig, 1821.

‡ See Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I., p. 30, *seq.*

emphasizing differences as to make them irreconcilable, and explaining the development in biblical history and religion and literature, by the theory of antagonistic forces struggling for the mastery. These critics were successfully opposed by the schools of Neander, Hofmann, and Ewald, and have been overcome in the New Testament by the principle of diversity of views combining in a higher unity. The same principle will overcome them in the Old Testament likewise, so soon as evangelical critics learn to apply it.*

The higher criticism during the first and second stadia of its development in Germany made little impression upon Great Britain and America. In 1818 T. Hartwell Horne issued his *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*,† which has been highly esteemed for its many excellent qualities by several generations of students. His statement in the preface to the second edition of his work shows how far Great Britain was behind the continent at that time: "It (the work) originated in the author's own wants many years since . . . when he stood in need of a guide to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. . . . At this time the author had no friend to assist his studies,—or remove his doubts,—nor any means of procuring critical works. At length a list of the more eminent foreign Biblical critics fell into his hands, and directed him to some of the sources of information which he was seeking; he then resolved to procure such of them as his limited means would permit, with the design in the first instance of satisfying his own mind on those

* See author's article *Critical Study of the Higher Criticism*, etc., *Presbyterian Review*, IV., p. 106, seq.; also Chap. VIII., p. 225; Chap. XI., p. 387 of this book.

† It passed through many editions, 4th, 1823; 10th, 1856.

topics which had perplexed him, and ultimately of laying before the Public the results of his inquiries, should no treatise appear that might supersede such a publication."

This dependence of Great Britain and America on the biblical scholarship of the continent continued until the second half of our century. Most students of the Bible contented themselves with more or less modified forms of traditional theories. Some few scholars made occasional and cautious use of German criticism. Moses Stuart, Edward Robinson, S. H. Turner, Addison Alexander, Samuel Davidson, and others depended chiefly upon German works which they translated or reproduced. At last the Anglo-Saxon world was roused from its uncritical condition by the attacks of Bishop Colenso, on the *historical* character of the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, and by a number of scholars representing free thought in the "Essays and Reviews." * These writers fell back on the older deistic objections to the Pentateuch as history, and as containing a *supernatural* religion, and mingled therewith a reproduction of German thought, chiefly through Bunsen. They magnified the discrepancies in the narratives and legislation, and attacked the supernatural element, but added nothing to the sober higher criticism of the Scriptures. So far as they took position on this subject they fell into line with the more radical element of the school of De Wette. They called the attention of British and American scholars away from the literary study of the Bible and the true work of the higher criticism, to a defence of the supernatural, and the inspiration of the Bible. They were successfully attacked by several divines in Great Britain and Amer-

* *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, Part I.-vii., 1862-79; *Recent Inquiries in Theology by eminent English Churchmen, being Essays and Reviews*, 4th Am. edition from 2d London, 1862.

ica.* The work of Colenso had little support in Great Britain or America at the time, but it made a great impression upon the Dutch scholar, Kuenen, who had already advanced to the most radical positions. Through Kuenen's influence it has, however, again come into notice.†

It is only within a few years that any general interest in matters of the higher criticism has been shown in Great Britain or America. This has been due chiefly in Great Britain to the influence of Bishop Lightfoot ‡ and Dr. W. Robertson Smith,§ and in the United States to the discussions of the higher criticism in the *Presbyterian Review*, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, and other periodicals. The ground had, in part, been prepared for these discussions by the translation of many of the most important foreign works of criticism, and their publication, especially by T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh, the Foreign Translation Fund Society, and others. Starting in the churches of England and France, the higher criticism was not developed in the lands of its birth, but passed over into Lutheran Germany and Reformed Switzerland to the headwaters of the Reformation, to attach itself to the

* Among these we may mention the authors of *Aids to Faith*, being a reply to "Essays and Reviews," American edition, 1862; W. H. Green, *The Pentateuch vindicated from the Aspersions of Bishop Colenso*, N. Y., 1863.

† *Godsdienst van Israel*, 1869-70, the English edition, *Religion of Israel*, 1874; *De vijf Boeken van Mozes*, 1872; *De Profeten en de profetieën der Israel*, 1875, translated into English, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, 1877, and numerous articles in *Theologisch. Tijdschrift* since that time, and last of all, Hibbert Lectures, *National Religions and Universal Religions*, 1882. Kuenen's views are presented in a popular form in the *Bible for Learners*, 3 vols., 1880.

‡ Articles in the *Contemporary Review*, against the author of *Supernatural Religion*, xxv. and xxvi.

§ *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 1881; *The Prophets of Israel* 1882.

principles of the Reformation after a hard and long struggle with rationalism, atheism, and pantheism.

In its historic unfolding in Germany and Switzerland in the nineteenth century, we observe that biblical criticism is represented by three antagonistic parties: *scholastic critics*, *evangelical critics*, and *rationalistic critics*. That the discussion has until recently been chiefly confined to the continent of Europe and foreign tongues, may account for the prejudice against it in Great Britain and America during the long neglect of biblical studies and the almost exclusive attention to the discussion of dogmas and the practical work of the church. But the renewed attention to biblical studies in Great Britain and America has brought us face to face with the critical theories of Germany, Holland and Switzerland, and the question arises how to meet them. Shall it be with dogmatic opposition to criticism altogether? This would be unreasonable, unhistoric, and unprotestant. Or shall we not rather take our stand with the evangelical critics of Europe against the rationalistic critics, and conquer the latter by a more profound critical interpretation of the literature, the history, and the religion of the Bible?

We should not allow ourselves to be influenced by the circumstance that the majority of the scholars who have been engaged in these researches have been rationalistic or semi-rationalistic in their religious opinions; and that they have employed the methods and styles peculiar to the German scholarship of our century. Whatever may have been the motives and influences that led to these investigations, the questions we have to determine are: (1) what are the facts of the case? and (2) do the theories account for the facts?

We have thus far been, at the best, spectators of the battle that has raged on the continent of Europe over

the biblical books. The Providence of God now calls us to take part in the conflict. Our Anglo-American scholars are but poorly equipped for the struggle. We should prepare ourselves at once. We should give our immediate attention to the history of this great movement, the stadia through which it has passed, and the present state of the question, in order that as soon as possible our scholars may attain the highest marks reached by our foreign brethren and advance to still greater achievements.

CHAPTER VIII.

LITERARY STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

THE sacred Scriptures are composed of a great variety of literary products, the results of the thinking, feeling, and acting of God's people in many generations. Though guided by the Divine Spirit so as to give one divine revelation in continuous historical development, they yet, as literary productions, assume various literary styles in accordance with the culture, taste, and capacity of their authors in the different periods of their composition. Especially is this true of the Old Testament, which contains the sacred literature of the Hebrews through a long period of literary development. For their proper interpretation, therefore, we need not only the religious spirit that can enter into sympathetic relations with the authors, and through vital union with the Divine Spirit interpret them from their inmost soul; we need not only training in grammar and logic to understand the true contents of their language and the drift of their discourse; we need not only a knowledge of the archæology, geography, and history of the people, that we may enter into the atmosphere and scenery of their life and its expression; we need not only a knowledge of the laws, doctrines, and institutions in which the authors were reared, and which constituted the necessary grooves of their religious culture but in addition to all these

we need also a *literary* training, an *æsthetic* culture, in order that by a true literary sense, and a sensitive and refined æsthetic taste, we may discriminate poetry from prose, fact from fiction, the bare truth from its artistic dress and decoration, the fruit of reasoning from the products of the imagination and fancy.

Every race and nation has its peculiarities of literary culture and style, so that while the study of the best literary models of the Greeks and Romans, and modern European languages, may be necessary to develop the best literary taste; yet in entering upon the study of Hebrew literature we come into a field that was not influenced at all by any of these,—to the literature of a race radically different from all the families of the Indo-Germanic race—one which declines to be judged by the standards of strangers and foreigners, but requires an independent study in connection with the literature of its own sisters, especially the Arabic, Syriac, and Assyrian. A special training in these literatures is, therefore, necessary in order to the proper estimation of the Hebrew literature; and criticism from the point of view of our ordinary classic literary culture alone is unfair and misleading. And it is safe to say that no one can thoroughly understand the Greek New Testament who has not made himself familiar with the Old Testament literature, upon which it is based. The student must enter into sympathetic relations with the spirit and life of the Orient that pervades it.

The literary study of the Bible is essentially the higher criticism of the Bible. A reader may enjoy the literary features of Shakespeare, Milton, and Homer without himself taking part in critical work, but consciously or unconsciously he is dependent upon the literary criticism of experts, who have given him the results of their la-

bors upon these authors. So is it with the Bible: the ordinary reader may enjoy it as literature without being a critic—but the labors of critics are necessary in order that the Bible may be presented to him in its proper literary character and forms. Biblical literature has the same problems to solve, and the same methods and principles for their solution, as have been employed in other departments of the world's literature (p. 87 *seq.*) It has to determine the integrity, authenticity, literary form, and credibility of the writings.

I. THE INTEGRITY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

The first questions with reference to a writing are: Is it the product of one mind as an organic whole or composed of several pieces of the same author; or is it a collection of writings by different authors? Has it retained its original integrity or has it been interpolated? May the interpolations be discriminated from the original?*

The twelve minor prophets are regarded as one book in most of the ancient Jewish and Christian catalogues. The *Baba Bathra* represents them as edited by the men of the great synagogue after the exile (p. 176). This is a conjecture without historical evidence. These prophets in modern times have ordinarily been treated separately and their original combination to a great extent forgotten. Each one of them may be tested as to its integrity. The only one about which there has been any general questioning, is Zechariah. The earlier doubts were based upon Matt. xxvii. 9, which ascribes Zech. xi.

* For general statements of the problems of higher criticism in our time, see Hermann Strack and L. Schulze, in Zöckler, *Handbuch d. theologischen Wissenschaften*, I., 1882, pp. 135, *seq.*, 382 *seq.*; also, S. I. Curtiss and H. M. Scott, in *Current Discussions in Theology*, Chicago, 1883, p. 26 *seq.*

12-13. to Jeremiah (p. 169). If that passage be free from error, the section of Zechariah in which the citation is contained must be separated from that prophet and attached to the prophecies of Jeremiah. It is now generally conceded that this cannot be done, and that the evangelist has made a slip of memory in citation.

The integrity of Zechariah has been disputed in recent times from literary grounds. Many scholars of the present day attribute the second half to one or more pre-exilic prophets. Others, as Wright* and Delitzsch,† still maintain the integrity of the book. The book of Proverbs is represented by the *Baba Bathra* (p. 176) as edited by the college of Hezekiah. This is based upon a conjecture founded on Proverbs xxv. 1. It has also been held that it was edited by Solomon himself, and, indeed, that Solomon was the author of the whole. It is now generally agreed that the book is made up of several collections, and that it has passed through the hands of a number of editors at different times.‡ The Psalter is composed of 150 Psalms in 5 Books. The *Baba Bathra* (p. 176) makes David the editor, and states that he used with his own Psalms those of ten ancient worthies. It has been held by some that David wrote all the Psalms (p. 188). Calvin, Du Pin, and others make Ezra the editor (p. 201). It is now generally agreed that the psalm-book is made up of a number of collections, and, like the book of Proverbs, has passed through a number of editings. Some have thought it to be the psalm-book of the first temple. Others, and indeed most

* *Zechariah and his Prophecies, considered in relation to Modern Criticism*, Bampton Lectures, 1878, London, 1879, p. xxxv.

† *Messianic Prophecies*, translated by S. I. Curtiss, Edinburgh, 1881.

‡ Delitzsch, *Bib. Com. on the Proverbs*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1874; Zöckler in Lange, *Biblework, Com. on the Proverbs*, N. Y., 1870.

moderns, think that it was edited in its present form for the second temple.* Grätz thinks that the Psalter was finally edited for the worship of the synagogue.† Isaiah is represented by the *Baba Bathra* as edited by the college of Hezekiah (p. 176). Its integrity was disputed by Koppe (p. 203), who maintained that it was a collection of pieces of various prophets loosely associated. It is generally held by foreign scholars that the first half of Isaiah is composed of groups of prophecies gathered about those of Isaiah as a nucleus, and that the second half (xl.-lxvi.) is by an unknown prophet of the exile.‡ The integrity of Isaiah has recently been defended by W. H. Cobb.§

There are interpolations in the Septuagint version in connection with Jeremiah, Daniel, and Esther. They are also found in the New Testament by the general consent of scholars—in Mark xvi. 9-20; | in the gospel of John viii. 1-11; ¶ in the famous passage of the heavenly witnesses, the first epistle of John v. 7, and elsewhere. We have seen that many scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries found such interpolations in the Pentateuch (p. 200). They are found by scholars in other books of the Bible. It will be sufficient to give the judicious remarks of Perowne on the Psalter:

* Perowne, *Book of Psalms*, 2d edition, London, 1870, p. 78; 3d edition, Andover, 1876, p. 63; Murray, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, N. Y., 1880.

† *Com. nu. d. Psalmen*, I., p. 6a, seq.

‡ Ewald, *Die Propheten*, Göttingen, 1868, 2te Ausg., III., p. 20, seq.; Deitzsch, *Messianic Prophecies*, 1881, p. 84; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 1881, II., p. 201 seq.; Cross, *Introductory Hints to English Readers of the Old Testament*, London, 1882, p. 238.

§ Several articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April and October, 1881, Jan. and July, 1882.

| See the marginal note of the revisers in the Revised Version of 1881.

¶ Bracketed in the Revised Version of 1881.

"It is plain that these ancient Hebrew songs and hymns must have suffered a variety of changes in the course of time, similar to those which may be traced in the older religious poetry of the Christian Church, where this has been adapted by any means to the object of some later compiler. Thus, hymns once intended for private use became adapted to public. Words and expressions applicable to the original circumstances of the writer, but not applicable to the new purpose to which the hymn was to be put, were omitted or altered. It is only in a critical age that any anxiety is manifested to ascertain the original form in which a poem appeared. The practical use of hymns in the Christian Church, and of the Psalms in the Jewish, far outweighed all considerations of a critical kind, or rather these last never occurred. Hence it has become a more difficult task than it otherwise would have been to ascertain the historical circumstances under which certain Psalms were written. Some traces we find leading us to one period of Jewish history; others which lead to another. Often there is a want of cohesion between the parts of a Psalm; often an abruptness of transition which we can hardly account for, except on the hypothesis that we no longer read the Psalm in its original form."*

All these questions are to be determined by the principles of the higher criticism. The authority of the Bible does not depend upon the integrity of particular writings. If the editing and interpolating were done under the influence of the Divine Spirit, this carries with it the same authority as the original document. If the interpolations are of a different character, such as are found to be the case in the apocryphal additions to Daniel and Esther, they should be removed from the Bible. If the authority of the Bible depended upon our first finding who wrote these interpolations and who edited the books, and whether these interpolators and editors were inspired men, we could never reach conviction as to many of them. But inasmuch as the authority of the Bible depends not upon this literary question

* In *L. c.*, p. 82.

of integrity of writing, but upon the Word of God recognized in the writing; and we prove the inspiration of the authors from the authority of the writings rather than the authority of the writings from the inspiration of the authors; the authority of the Bible is not disturbed by any changes in traditional opinion as to these writings. The only question of integrity with which inspiration has to do is the integrity of the canon, whether the interpolations, the separate parts, the writings as a whole are real and necessary parts of the system of divine revelation—whether they contain the Divine Word. This can never be determined by the higher criticism, which has to do only with literary integrity and not with canonical integrity. We doubt not the canonicity of Mark xvi. 9–20, although it seems necessary to separate it from the original gospel of Mark.

II. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Several questions arise under this head. Is the author's name given in connection with the writing? Is it anonymous? Can it be pseudonymous? Is it a compilation? All these are ordinary features of the world's literature. Is there any sound reason why they should not all be found in the Bible? There has ever been a tendency in the synagogue and the church to ascribe the biblical books to certain well-known holy men and prophets. Tradition has been busy here. There is no book of the Bible that has not one or more traditional authors. And so in all departments of literature there is scarcely a great name which has not been compelled to father writings that do not belong to it. The genuine writings of Athanasius, Jerome, Augustine

and Ambrose have to be separated by careful criticism from the spurious; for example:

"Of the thirty to a hundred so-called Ambrosian hymns, however, only twelve in the view of the Benedictine editor of his works are genuine, the rest being more or less successful imitations by unknown authors. Neale reduces the number of the genuine Ambrosian hymns to ten."*

It is well known that Shakespeare's genuine plays have to be discriminated from the large number of others that have been attributed to him. Shakespearian criticism is of so great importance as to constitute a literature of its own.† Sometimes the writings of a well-known author have been, in the process of time, attributed to another. We have an example of this in the *Paradoxes* of Herbert Palmer, which have been regarded as Lord Bacon's.‡

To question the traditional opinion as to authorship of a writing is not to contest the *authenticity* of the writing. Authenticity has properly to do only with the claims of the writing itself, and not with the claims of traditional theories. The *Baba Bathra* does not discriminate between editorship and authorship (p. 178). It is evident that to the *Tanaim* of the second century the principal thing was official committing to writing and not the original production of the writing. The Talmudic statements as to authorship are many of them absurd conjectures. Josephus and Philo, when they make Moses the author of the narrative of his own death, go beyond the *Baba Bathra* and indulge in folly.

The titles found in connection with the biblical books

* Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, III., 1868, p. 591.

† Knight's *Shakespeare*, Supplemental Volume.

‡ See Grosart, *Lord Bacon not the author of the "Christian Paradoxes."* Printed for private circulation, 1865.

cannot always be relied upon, for the reason that we have first to determine whether they came from the original authors, or have been appended by inspired editors, or have been attached in the rabbinical or Christian schools. Thus the difference in the titles of the several psalms between the Septuagint version and the Massoretic text are so great as to force the conclusion that many of the titles are of late and uncertain origin, and that most, if not all, are of doubtful authority.*

In considering the question of authenticity, we have first to examine the writing itself. If the writing claims to be by a certain author, to doubt it is to doubt the credibility and authority of the writing. If these claims are found to be unreliable, the credibility of the writing is gone, and its inspiration is involved. But if the credibility of the writing is not impeached, its inspiration has nothing to do with the question of its human authorship.

The higher criticism has been compelled by Deism and Rationalism to meet this question of *forgery* of biblical writings. This phase of the subject has now been settled so far that no reputable critics venture to write of any of our canonical writings as forgeries.

(1) There are large numbers of the biblical books that are *anonymous*: e. g., the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Jonah, Ruth, many of the Psalms, Lamentations, and the epistle to the Hebrews.

Tradition has assigned authors for all of these. It is also maintained that the internal statements of some of these books point to their authorship by certain persons.

* Murray, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, 1880, p. 79, seq.; Perowne in *I. c.*, p. 94, seq.

These latter are questions of interpretation. The vast weight of the biblical scholarship of the present day is, however, with reference to the books mentioned above, against any such interpretation of them as discovers authorship in their statements. Such interpretation is forced, and is regarded as based on preconceptions and dogmatic considerations.

(2) Are there *pseudonymous* books in the Bible? This is a well-known and universally recognized literary style which no one should think of identifying with *forgery* or deceit of any kind. Ancient and modern literature is full of pseudonyms as well as anonymes. One need only look over the bibliographical works devoted to this subject,* or have a little familiarity with the history of literature, or examine any public library, to settle this question. There is great variety in the use of the pseudonyme. Sometimes the author uses a surname rather than his own proper name, either by it to conceal himself from the public or to introduce himself by a title of honor. Thus Calvin follows the opinion of some of the ancients that the prophecy of Malachi was written by Ezra, who assumed the surname Malachi in connection with it. Then again some descriptive term is used as by the authors of the celebrated Martin Marprelate tracts. Then a fictitious name is constructed as in the title of the famous tracts vindicating Presbyterianism against Episcopacy; the authors Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcommen, and William Spurstow coined the name Smectymnuus from the initial letters of their names. Among the ancients it was more common to assume the names of

* Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes*, 4 tom., Paris, 1872-78; Halkett and Lang, *Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, 1882, seq., Vol. I, A-E, II. F-N.

ancient worthies. There is an enormous number of these pseudonymes in the Puritan literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. The descendants of the Puritans are the last ones who should think of any dishonesty or impropriety connected with their use.

Why should the pseudonyme be banished from the Bible? Among the Greeks and Romans they existed in great numbers. Among the Jews we have a long list in extra canonical books, *e. g.*: The apocalypses of Enoch, Baruch, Ezra, Assumption of Moses, Ascension of Isaiah, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Psalter of Solomon, covering several kinds of literature. Why should there not be some of these in the Old Testament? It is now conceded by most scholars, even Keil and Delitzsch, that Ecclesiastes is such a pseudonyme, using Solomon's name.* It is claimed by some that Daniel† and Deuteronomy‡ are also pseudonymes. If no *a priori* objection can be taken to the pseudonyme

* This is invincibly established by Wright, *Book of Koheleth*, London, 1883, p. 79, *seq.*: "Solomon is introduced as the speaker throughout the work in the same way as Cicero in his treatise on 'Old Age,' and on 'Friendship,' selects Cato the elder as the exponent of his views, or as Plato in his Dialogues brings forward Socrates." See *Presbyterian Review*, IV., p. 649, *seq.*

† See Strack in *l. c.*, p. 164, *seq.*, and p. 189 of this vol.

‡ So Riehm, *Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab*, 1854, p. 112, represents the Deuteronomic code as a literary fiction. The author lets Moses appear as a prophetic popular orator, and as the first priestly reader of the law. It is a literary fiction as Ecclesiastes is a literary fiction. The latter uses the person of Solomon as the master of wisdom to set forth the lessons of wisdom. The former uses Moses as the great lawgiver, to promulgate divine laws. This is also the view of Nöldeke, *Alttest. Literatur*, 1868, p. 30; and W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, N. Y., 1881, p. 384, *seq.*, who uses the term *legal fiction* as a variety of literary fiction. We cannot go with those who regard this as an absurdity, or as involving literary dishonesty. Drs. Riehm and Smith, and others who hold this view, repudiate such a thought with abhorrence. The style of literary fiction was a familiar and favorite one of the later Jews. And there can be no *a priori* reason why they should not have used it in Bible times.

as inconsistent with divine revelation,—if one *pseudonyme*, e. g., Ecclesiastes, be admitted in the Bible, then the question whether Daniel and Deuteronomy are pseudonymes must be determined by the higher criticism, and it does not touch the question of their inspiration or authority as a part of the Scriptures at all. All would admit that no forger or forgery could be inspired. But that every one who writes a pseudonyme is a deceiver or forger is absurd. The usage of literature ancient and modern has established its propriety. If it claims to be by a particular author, and is said by a critic to be a pseudonyme, then its credibility is attacked, and the question of its inspiration is raised. In the New Testament the gospel of John is thought by some to be a pseudonyme of the second Christian century. The gospel of John has been the centre of the conflict of the higher criticism in the New Testament. Here the lines of battle were sharply drawn by the schools of Baur and Neander. The vindication of the Johanaic authorship is the grandest critical achievement of our century, for which all men ought to be grateful to the principles and methods of the higher criticism. Traditionalists have contributed nothing of value to this discussion, but have only impeded the evangelical critics in their struggles with the rationalistic critics.* We shall give an extract from Weiss as it not only bears on the authenticity of John, but also on the general question of the pseudonyme:

“There was certainly in antiquity a pseudonymous literature, which cannot be criticized from the standpoint of the literary cus-

* See Godet, *Comm. on the Gospel of John*, T. & T. Clark, Edin., 1876, I., 2, 3, *seq.* Luthardt, *St. John's Gospel*, T. & T. Clark, Edin., 1876, I., pp. 211, *seq.*; Ezra Abbot, *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, Boston, 1880; Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, 1882, I., p. 88, *seq.*

toms of our day, or judged as forgery. For it is just the *naïveté* with which the author strives to find a higher authority for his words by laying them in the mouth of one of the celebrated men of the past, in whose spirit he desires to speak, which justifies this literary form. Quite otherwise is it in this case; the author mentions no name; he only gives it to be understood that it is the unnamed disciple so repeatedly introduced who is writing here from his own personal knowledge; he leaves it to be inferred from the comparison of one passage with another that this eye-witness cannot be any one but John. It was Renan, who in the face of modern criticism, said that it was not a case of pseudonymous authorship such as was known to antiquity, it was either truth or refined forgery—plain deception."*

The authenticity of the Pauline epistles of the imprisonment, and the pastoral epistles has been contested in a similar way. The higher criticism has shown that the differences in the Pauline epistles represent three stages of growth in the experiences and doctrinal teaching of the apostle Paul himself. And it is not necessary to think of his disciples as their authors, or to descend into the second century.† The Apocalypse has been disputed from ancient times. It has been assigned by some of the ancients to a presbyter John. Recent criticism is more and more decided in favor of the authorship of the apostle John and against placing it with the pseudonymous apocalypses of Peter and Paul. The differences, which are recognized to be very great in language and style, and in doctrine, are best explained by regarding the Apocalypse as an earlier writing, and the gospel as the most mature writing of the apostle.‡

(3) *Compilations.* The historical books of Kings and

* Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, T. & T. Clark, Edin., 1883, I., p. 94.

† See Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 1882, p. 784, *seq.*; Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1882, I., p. 285.

‡ Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, N. Y., 1882, pp. 716, *seq.*; 834.

Chronicles,* and the gospel of Luke (i. 1-4) represent themselves as compilations. They use older documents which are sometimes mentioned by name. The question then is, how far this compilation has extended, and whether it has been once for all, or has passed through a number of stages. Thus the books of Kings refer to books of Chronicles which are not our books of Chronicles, and our books of Chronicles refer to books of Kings which are not our books of Kings. Both of these historical writers seem to depend upon an ancient book of Chronicles—only our book of Chronicles has used it in its citation in another book of Kings than the one presented to us in the canon, for it gives material not found therein.† The question arises whether the other historical books are not also compilations. In the New Testament the chief disputes have been as to Matthew and Mark;‡ in the Old Testament as to the Pentateuch. It is now conceded by most critics that the Pentateuch is composed of four separate historical narratives, each with its code of legislation, and that these have been compacted into their present form by one or more editors. The *Baba Bathra* makes Moses the editor or author of the Pentateuch. If the inspiration of the Pentateuch depends upon the sole Mosaic authorship, then criticism has come into irreconcilable conflict with its inspiration. But this is only a presumption of tradition. The inspiration and authority of the Pentateuch are as safe, yes, safer,

* 1 Kings xl. 41; xiv. 19, 29; xvi. 5; 2 Kings i. 18; viii. 23; xx. 20; 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29; xii. 15; xiii. 22; xvi. 11; xxiv. 27; xxvi. 22, etc.; xxxiii. 18, 19; xxxv. 27; Neh. xi. 23.

† Nöldeke, *Alttest. Literatur*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 57, *seq.*

‡ Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I., 1882, p. 24, *seq.*, gives the latest and best statement of this discussion and its results.

with the view that these books were compiled, as were the other historical books of the Old Testament.* The question as to the authenticity of the Bible is whether God is its author; whether it is inspired. This cannot be determined by the higher criticism in any way, for the higher criticism has only to do with human authorship, and has nothing to do with the divine authorship, which is determined on different principles, as we have seen in our study of the canon (Chapter V.).

III. THE LITERARY FORMS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

The literary forms have not shared to any great extent in the revival of biblical studies. And yet these are exactly the things that most need consideration in our day, when biblical literature is compared with the literatures of the other religions of the ancient world, and the question is so often raised why we should recognize the Bible as the inspired word of God rather than the sacred books of other religions; and when the higher criticism is becoming the most important factor in biblical studies of our day.

Bishop Lowth in England, and the poet Herder in Germany, toward the close of the last century called the attention of the learned world to this neglected theme, and invited it to the study of the Scriptures as sacred literature; but little advance has been made since that day, owing, doubtless, to the fact that the conflict between the churches and rationalism has been raging about the history, the religion, and the doctrines; the original text, and the higher criticism in questions of authenticity, integrity, and credibility of writings; but

* See *Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism*, *Presbyterian Review*, IV., pp. 105, 129, *seq.*

the finer literary features have not entered into the controversies to any extent until quite recent times. De Wette, Ewald, and especially Reuss, have made valuable contributions to this subject, but even these masters of exegetical theology have given their strength to other topics. There lies open to the student of our day one of the most interesting and inviting fields for research, whence he may derive rich spoil for himself and the church.

The most obvious divisions of literature are poetry and prose. These are distinguished on the surface by different modes of writing, and to the ear by different modes of reading; but underneath all this is a difference of rhythmical movement. It is indeed difficult to draw the line scientifically between poetry and prose even here, for as Lanier says: "Prose has its rhythms, its tunes and its tone-colors, like verse; and, while the extreme forms of prose and verse are sufficiently unlike each other, there are such near grades of intermediate forms, that they may be said to run into each other, and any line claiming to be distinctive must necessarily be more or less arbitrary." * Hence rhetorical prose and works of the imagination in all languages approximate closely to poetry. The poetry of the Bible is written in the MSS., and is printed in the Hebrew and Greek texts, as well as the versions with few exceptions exactly as if it were prose; and the Hebrew scribes who divided the Old Testament Scriptures and pointed them with vowels and accents dealt with them as if they were prose and even obscured the poetic form by their ignorant and careless divisions of verse and sections, so that the poetic form in many cases can be restored only by a careful study of

* *Science of English Verse*, N. Y., 1880, p. 57.

the unpointed text and a neglect of the Massoretic sections.

We reserve the subject of Hebrew Poetry for our next chapter, limiting ourselves in this chapter to the Prose Literature of the Bible. This is found in rich variety.

(1) *History* constitutes a large portion of the Old and New Testaments. In the Old Testament there are two distinct kinds of history: the priestly and the prophetic. The priestly is represented by Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and extends backward into the Elohist section of the Pentateuch. It is characterized by the annalistic style, using older sources, such as genealogical tables, letters, official documents, and entering into the minute details of the Levitical system, and the organization of the State, but destitute of imagination and of the artistic sense. The prophetic is represented by the books of Samuel and Kings and extends backward into the Jehovistic sections of the Pentateuch. It is characterized by the descriptive style, using ancient stories, traditions, poetic extracts, and entire poems. It is graphic in delineation, using the imagination freely, and with fine artistic tact.*

In the New Testament we have four biographical sketches of the noblest and most exalted person who has ever appeared in history, the God-Man, Jesus Christ, in their variety giving us memoirs in four distinct types, the highest in the gospel of John, where the person of Jesus is set in the halo of religious philosophical reflection from the point of view of the Christophanies of Fatmos.† The book of Acts presents the history of

* Dillmann, *Genesis*, 4te. Aufl., Leipzig, 1882, p. xi. *seq.*; Nöldeke, *Alttest Literatur*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 15, *seq.*

† Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, Berlin, 1882, I., p. 103.

the planting and training of the Christian church, using various sources and personal reminiscences.

All these forms of history and biography use the same variety of sources as histories in other ancient literature. Their historical material was not revealed to the authors by the Divine Spirit, but gathered by their own industry as historians from existing material and sources of information. The most that we can claim for them while distinguishing inspiration from revelation, is that they were inspired by God in their work so that they were guided into truth and thereby preserved from error—certainly as to all matters of religion, faith, and morals; but to what extent further in the details and external matters of their composition is still in dispute among evangelical men. It is also disputed to what extent their use of sources was limited by inspiration, or, in other words, what kinds of sources were unworthy of the use of inspired historians. There are those who would exclude the legend and the myth which are found in all other ancient history. If the legend in itself implies what is false, it would certainly be unworthy of divine inspiration to use it; but if it is the poetical embellishment of bare facts, one does not readily see why it should be excluded from the sacred historians' sources any more than snatches of poetry, bare genealogical tables, and records often fragmentary and incomplete, such as are certainly found in the historical books. If the myth necessarily implies in itself polytheism or pantheism, or any of the elements of false religions it would be unworthy of divine inspiration. It is true that the classic myths which lie at the basis of the history of Greece and Rome, with which all students are familiar, are essentially polytheistic; but not more so than the religions of these peoples and all their literature. It is also true

that the myths of Assyria and Babylon as recorded on their monuments are essentially polytheistic. Many scholars have found such myths in the Pentateuch. But over against this there is the striking fact that stands out in the comparison of the biblical narratives of the creation and the flood, with the Assyrian and Babylonian; namely, that the biblical are monotheistic, the Assyrian polytheistic. But is there not a monotheistic myth as well as a polytheistic? In other words, may not the poetic form of the myth be appropriate to monotheistic as well as to polytheistic conceptions? May it not be an appropriate literary form for the true biblical religion as well as the other ancient religions of the world? *

However we may answer this question *a priori*, it is safe to say that the term *myth* at least has become so associated with polytheism in later usage and in the common mind, that it is unwise, if not altogether improper, to use it in connection with the pure monotheism and supernatural revelation of the Bible, if for no other reason—at least for this—to avoid misconception, and in order to make the necessary discriminations. For the discrimination of the religion of the Bible from the other religions must ever be more important than their comparison and features of resemblance. There is no such objection to the term legend,† which in its earliest and still prevalent use, has a prevailing religious sense, and can cover without difficulty all those elements in the biblical history which we are now considering. There is certainly a resemblance to the myth of other nations

* Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, N. Y., 1882, p. 187.

† George P. Marsh, article *Legend*, in Johnson's *New Universal Cyclopædia*, 1876, II., p. 1714, and the *Legenda Aurea*, or *Historia Lombardica*, of Jacobus de Voragine, of the 13th century.

in the close and familiar association of the one God with the ancestors of our race, and the patriarchs of Israel, however we may explain it. Whatever names we may give to these beautiful and sacred traditions which were transmitted in the families of God's people from generation to generation, and finally used by the sacred historians in their holy books; whatever names we may give them in distinction from the legends and myths of other nations, none can fail to see that poetic embellishment natural and exquisitely beautiful, artless and yet most artistic, which comes from the imagination of the common people of the most intelligent nations, in these sources that were used by divine inspiration in giving us ancient history in its most attractive form. Indeed the imagination is in greater use in Hebrew history than in any other history, with all the oriental wealth of color in the prophetic historians.

The dialogues and discourses of the ancient worthies are simple, natural, and profound. They are not to be regarded as exact reproductions of the words originally spoken, whether preserved in the memory of the people and transmitted in stereotyped form or electrotyped on the mind of the historian, or in his writing by divine inspiration; but they are rather reproductions of the situation in a graphic and rhetorical manner, differing from the like usage in Livy and Thucydides, Herodotus and Xenophon only in that the latter used their reflection and imagination merely; the former used the same faculties guided by divine inspiration into the truth and restrained from error.

In biblical history there is a wealth of beauty and religious instruction for those students who approach it not only as a work of divine revelation from which the maximum of dogma, or of examples and maxims of prac-

tical ethics are to be derived; but with the higher appreciation and insight of those who are trained to the historian's art of representation, and who learn from the art of history, and the styles and methods of history, the true interpretation of historical books, where the soul enters into the enjoyment of the concrete, and is unwilling to break up the ideal of beauty, or destroy the living reality, for the sake of the analytic process, and the abstract resultant, however important these may be in other respects, and under other circumstances.

(2) Advancing from historical prose, we come to the *Oration*. The Bible is as rich in this form of literature as in its history and poetry. Indeed, the three run insensibly into one another in Hebrew prophecy. Rare models of eloquence are found in the historical books, such as the plea of Judah (Gen. xlv. 18-34); the charge of Joshua (Jos. xxiv.); the indignant outburst of Jotham (Judges ix.); the sentence pronounced upon Saul by Samuel (1 Sam. xv.); the challenge of Elijah (1 Kings xviii.). The three great discourses of Moses in Deuteronomy are elaborate orations, combining great variety of motives and rhetorical forms, especially in the last discourse, to impress upon Israel the doctrines of God, and the blessings and curses, the life and death, involved therein.

The prophetic books present us collections of inspired eloquence, which for unction, fervor, impressiveness, grandeur, sublimity, and power, surpass all the eloquence of the world, as they grasp the historical past and the ideal future, and entwine them with the living present, for the comfort and warning, the guidance and the restraint of God's people. Nowhere else do we find such depths of passion, such heights of ecstasy, such

dreadful imprecations, such solemn warnings, such impressive exhortations, and such sublime promises.

Each prophet has his own peculiarities and excellences. "Joel's discourse is like a rapid, sprightly stream flowing into a delightful plain. Hosea's is like a waterfall plunging down over rocks and ridges; Isaiah as a mass of water rolling heavily along." * Micah has no superior in simplicity and originality of thought, spirituality and sublimity of conception, clearness and precision of prophetic vision. "Isaiah is not the especially lyrical prophet, or the especially elegiacal prophet, or the especially oratorical or hortatory prophet, as we would describe a Joel, a Hosea, or Micah, with whom there is a greater prevalence of some particular colors; but just as the subject requires, he has readily at command every different kind of style, and every different change of delineation; and it is precisely this, that, in point of language, establishes his greatness, as well as, in general, forms one of his most towering points of excellence. His only fundamental peculiarity is the lofty, majestic calmness of his style, proceeding out of the perfect command which he feels that he has over his matter." † Jeremiah is the prophet of sorrow, and his style is heavy and monotonous, as the same story of woe must be repeated again and again in varied strains. Ezekiel was, as Hengstenberg represents, of a gigantic appearance, well adapted to struggle effectively with the spirit of the times of the Babylonian captivity—a spiritual Samson, who, with powerful hand, grasped the pillars of the temple of idolatry and dashed it to the earth, standing alone, yet worth a hundred prophetic schools, and, during his entire appearance, a powerful

* Wünsche, *Weissagungen des Propheten Joel*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 38.

† Ewald, *Die Propheten*, Göttingen, 1867, I., p. 279.

proof that the Lord was still among His people, although His visible temple was ground to powder.* Malachi closes the line, "Although like a late evening closing a long day, he is yet at the same time the gray of dawn, bearing a noble day in its bosom."†

In the New Testament the three great discourses of Jesus and His parabolic teaching present us oratory of the Aramaic type; simple, quiet, transparent, yet reaching to unfathomable depths, and as the very blue of heaven,—every word a diamond, every sentence altogether spirit and life, illuminating with their pure, searching light, quickening with their warm, pulsating, throbbing love.‡

The discourse of Peter at Pentecost will vie with Cicero against Catiline in its conviction of the rulers of Israel, and in its piercing the hearts of the people. The discourses of Paul on Mars' Hill, and before the Jews in Jerusalem, and the magnates of Rome at Caesarea, are not surpassed by Demosthenes on the Crown. We see the philosophers of Athens confounded, some mocking, and others convinced unto salvation. We see the Jewish mob at first silenced, and then bursting forth into a frantic yell for his blood. We see the Roman governor trembling before his prisoner's reasonings of justice and judgment to come. We do not compare the orations of Peter and Paul with those of Cicero and Demosthenes for completeness, symmetry, and artistic finish; this would be impossible, for the sermons of Peter and Paul are only preserved to us in outline; but, taking them as outlines, we maintain that for skilful use of

* Hengstenberg, *Christology*, T. & T. Clark, Edin., 1864, Vol. II., p. 3.

† Nägelsbach, article *Maleachi*, in Herzog, 1 Aufl., viii., p. 756.

‡ See A. B. Bruce, *Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, London, 1882, for a fine appreciation of the literary forms of the parables.

circumstance, for adaptation to the occasion, for rhetorical organization of the theme, for rapid display of argument, in their grand march to the climax, and above all in the effects that they produced, the orations of Peter and Paul are pre-eminent.

Nowhere else save in the Bible have the oratorical types of three distinct languages and civilizations combined for unity and variety of effect. These biblical models ought to enrich and fortify the sermon of our day. If we should study them as literary forms, as much as we study Cicero and Demosthenes as models of sacred eloquence, the pulpit would rise to new grandeur and sublimer heights and more tremendous power over the masses of mankind.

(3) The *Epistle* may be regarded as the third form of prose literature. This is the contribution of the Aramaic language to the Old Testament in the letters contained in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. But it is in the New Testament that the epistle receives its magnificent development in the letters of James, Peter, Paul, Jude, and John—some familiar, some dogmatic, some ecclesiastical, some pastoral, some speculative and predictive, and in the epistle to the Hebrews we have an elaborate essay.

How charming the letters of Cicero to his several familiar friends! What a loss to the world to be deprived of them! But who among us would exchange for them the epistles of the apostles? And yet it is to be feared that we have studied them not too much as doctrinal treatises, perhaps, but too little as familiar letters to friends and to beloved churches, and still less as literary models for the letter and the essay. It might refresh and exalt our theological and ethical treatises, if their authors would study awhile with Paul in his style

and method. They might form a juster conception of his doctrines and principles. They certainly would understand better how to use his doctrines, and how to apply his principles.

(4) *Fiction* is represented in the New Testament in the parables of Jesus. It is also represented in the apocryphal books of Tobit and Susanna, and in the 4th book of Maccabees in the story about the seven heroic Maccabee sons, and, in 1 Esdras iv., in the legend about Zerubbabel and Truth. It is true these are not canonical, but they illustrate the part that fiction played in the literature of the Hebrews of the centuries between the Testaments. We might also bring into consideration the fiction of the Haggada of the Jews in the various *midrashim*.*

Many divines have thought that the books of Esther and Jonah should be classed as fiction.† Any *a priori* objection to fiction as unworthy of inspiration is debarred by the parables of Jesus. With reference to these books it must, therefore, be entirely a question of induction of facts. The beautiful story of Zerubbabel and Truth, with its sublime lesson, "Truth is mighty, and will prevail," loses nothing in its effect by being a story and not history. The wonderful devotion and self-sacrifice of the Maccabee mother, and the patient endurance of the most horrible tortures by her sons, which have stirred and thrilled many a heart, and strengthened many a pious martyr to the endurance of persecution, are no less powerful as ideal than as real. So it would be with Jonah and Esther if they could be proved to be fiction. The model of patriotic devotion, the lesson of

* See the great collection in Wünsche, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Leipzig, 1880-84.

† Nöldeke, *Alttest. Literatur*, 1868, p. 71, seq.

the universality of divine providence and grace, would be still as forcible, and the gain would be at least equal to the loss, if they were to be regarded as inspired ideals rather than inspired statements of the real. The sign of the prophet Jonah as a symbol of the resurrection of Jesus Christ is as forcible, if the symbol has an ideal basis, as if it had an historical basis. Be this as it may, the element of fiction is sufficiently well represented in the Old Testament in the story of the Shulamite in the Song of Songs, and in the elaboration of the historical person and trials of Job into one of the grandest ideals of the imagination, and in the soul struggles of Koheleth.

These are then the most general forms of prose literature contained in the sacred Scriptures. They vie with the literary models of the best nations of ancient and modern times. They ought to receive the study of all Christian men and women. They present the greatest variety of form, the noblest themes, and the very best models. Nowhere else can we find more admirable æsthetic as well as moral and religious culture. Christian people should urge that our schools and colleges should attend to this literature, and not neglect it for the sake of the Greek and Roman, which with all their rare forms and extraordinary grace and beauty, yet lack the oriental wealth of color, depths of passion, heights of rapture, holy aspirations, transcendent hopes, and transforming moral power.

Our college and university training and the drift of modern thought lead us far away from oriental thought and emotion, and the literature that expresses them. Few there are who have entered into the spirit and life of the Orient as it is presented to us in the sacred Scriptures. It is not remarkable that the Old Testa-

ment has been to many a dead book, exciting no living, heartfelt interest. Here is a new and interesting field for the student of our day. The young men are entering into it with enthusiasm. The church of Christ will be greatly enriched by the fruits of their labors.

IV. THE CREDIBILITY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

This is the most delicate and difficult question of the higher criticism with reference to all literature, but especially with reference to biblical literature. That there are errors in the present text of our Bible, and inconsistencies, it seems to us vain to deny. We have come upon some of them in the course of our investigations (pp. 191, 192). There are chronological, geographical, and other circumstantial inconsistencies and errors which we should not hesitate to acknowledge. These errors arise in the department of exegesis more than in higher criticism. It does not follow, however, that circumstantial, incidental errors, such as might arise from the inadvertence or lack of information of an author, are any impeachment of his credibility. If we distinguish between revelation and inspiration, and yet insist upon inerrancy with reference to the latter as well as the former, we virtually do away with the distinction; for no mere man can escape altogether human errors unless divine revelation set even the most familiar things in a new and infallible light, and also so control him that he cannot make a slip of the eye or the hand, a fault in the imagination, in conception, in reasoning, in rhetorical figure, or in grammatical expression; and indeed so raise him above his fellows that he shall see through all their errors in science and philosophy as well as theology, and anticipate the discoveries in all branches of knowledge by thousands of years. Errors of inadvertence in

minor details, where the author's position and character are well known, do not destroy his credibility as a witness in any literature or any court of justice. It is not to be presumed that divine inspiration lifted the author above his age any more than was necessary to convey the divine revelation and the divine instruction with infallible certainty to mankind. We have to take into account the extent of the author's human knowledge, his point of view and type of thought, his methods of reasoning and illustration. The question of credibility is to be distinguished from infallibility. The form is credible, the substance alone is infallible. It is claimed by some divines that the *inerrancy** of Scripture is essential to the inspiration of the Scriptures, and that "a proved error in Scripture contradicts not only our doctrine, but the Scripture claims, and therefore its inspiration in making those claims."† But *inerrancy* is neither a scriptural nor a symbolical nor a historical term in connection with the subject of Inspiration. These representations of the doctrine of inspiration have no support in the symbols or faith of the Reformation, or in the Westminster Confession, or in the Scriptures. We hold with our revered instructor, the late Henry B. Smith, to *plenary* inspiration rather than verbal. It may be as it is stated. "It (plenary inspiration) is in itself indefinite, and its use contributes nothing, either to the precision or the emphasis of the definition";‡ but this is as far as the Scriptures or the symbols of faith warrant us in going; it is as far as it is at all safe in the present juncture to advance in definition. *Verbal* inspiration is doubtless a more precise and emphatic defini-

* F. L. Patton, *Pentateuchal Criticism*, *Presbyterian Review*, IV., p. 363.

† Drs. Hodge and Warfield, art. *Inspiration*, *Presbyterian Review*, II., p. 245.

‡ Drs. Hodge and Warfield in *J. c.*, p. 232.

tion than *plenary* inspiration; but this very emphasis and precision imperil the doctrine of inspiration itself by bringing it into conflict with a vast array of objections along the whole line of Scripture and history, which must be met and overcome in incessant warfare, where both sides may count on doubtful victories, but where the weak, ignorant, and hesitating, stumble and fall into divers temptations, and may make shipwreck of their faith. From the point of view of biblical criticism, we are not prepared to admit errors in the Scriptures in the original autographs, until they shall be proven. Very many of those alleged have already received sufficient or plausible explanation; others are in dispute between truth-seeking scholars, and satisfactory explanations may hereafter be given. New difficulties are constantly arising and being overcome. It is difficult on the one side to demonstrate an error, as it is on the other side to demonstrate that the Scriptures must be absolutely errorless. It is a question of fact to which all theories and doctrines must yield. It cannot be determined by *a priori* definitions and statements on either side. Indeed the original autographs have been lost for ages and can never be recovered. How can we determine whether they were absolutely errorless or not? To assume that it must be so, as a deduction from the theory of verbal inspiration, is to beg the whole question.

In the meanwhile we confidently affirm that the doctrine of inspiration as stated in the symbols of faith will maintain its integrity in spite of any circumstantial errors that may be admitted or proved in the Scriptures, so long as these errors do not directly or indirectly disturb the infallibility of its matters of faith or of the historic events and institutions with which they are inseparably united.

We are convinced that Richard Baxter more correctly states the church doctrine when he says :

"And here I must tell you a great and needful truth, which . . . Christians fearing to confess, by overdoing tempt men to Infidelity. The Scripture is like a man's body, where some parts are but for the preservation of the rest, and may be maimed without death : The sense is the soul of the Scripture ; and the letters but the body, or vehicle. The doctrine of the creed, Lord's Prayer and Decalogue, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, is the vital part, and Christianity itself. The Old Testament letter (written as we have it about Ezra's time) is that vehicle which is as imperfect as the Revelation of these times was : But as after Christ's incarnation and ascension, the Spirit was more abundantly given, and the Revelation more perfect and sealed, so the doctrine is more full and the vehicle or body, that is, the words are less imperfect and more sure to us ; so that he that doubteth of the truth of some words in the Old Testament, or of some circumstances in the New, hath no reason therefore to doubt of the Christian religion, of which these writings are but the vehicle or body, sufficient to ascertain us of the truth of the History and Doctrine." *

Higher criticism comes into conflict with the authority of Scripture when it finds that its statements are not authoritative and its revelations are not credible. If the credibility of a book is impeached, its divine authority and inspiration are also impeached. But to destroy his credibility something more must be presented than trivial matters and minute details that do not affect the author's scope of argument or his religious instructions. We hold that it is an unsafe position to assume, that we must first prove the credibility, inerrancy, and infallibility of a book ere we accept its authority. If inquirers waited until all the supposed errors in our canonical books were satisfactorily explained they would never accept the Bible as a divine revelation. To press the

* *The Catechising of Families*, 1682, p. 36.

critics to this dilemma, *inerrancy* or *uninspired*, might catch the critics on one of the horns if they were not critical enough to detect the fallacy and escape, but it would be more likely to catch the people, who know nothing of criticism, and so undermine and destroy their faith.

The higher criticism has already strengthened the credibility of Scripture. It has studied the human features of the Bible and learned the wondrous variety of form and color assumed by the divine revelation. Many of the supposed inconsistencies have been found to be different modes of representing the same thing, complementary to one another and combining to give a fuller representation than any one mode could ever have given, as the two sides of the stereoscopic view give a representation superior to that of the ordinary photograph. The unity of statement found in the midst of such wondrous variety of detail in form and color is vastly more convincing than a unity of mere coincidence such as the older harmonists sought to obtain by stretching and straining the Scriptures on the procrustean bed of their hair-splitting scholasticism. Many of the supposed inconsistencies have been found to arise from different stages of divine revelation, in the earlier of which God condescended to the weakness and the ignorance of men, and gave to them the knowledge that they could appropriate, and held up to them ideals that they could understand as to their essence if not in all their details. The earlier are shadows and types, crude and imperfect representations of better things to follow.* Many of the supposed inconsistencies result from the popular and unscientific language of the Bible, thus approaching the

* Hebrews viii. 5; x. 1; xl. 40; Col. ii. 17.

people of God in different ages in concrete forms and avoiding the abstract. The inconsistencies have resulted from the scholastic abstractions of those who would use the Bible as a text-book, but they do not exist in the concrete of the Bible itself. Many of the supposed inconsistencies arise from a different method of logic and rhetoric in the Oriental writers and the attempt of modern scholars to measure them by Occidental methods. Many of the inconsistencies result from the neglect to appreciate the poetic and imaginative element in the Bible and a lack of æsthetic sense on the part of its interpreters. The higher criticism has already removed a large number of difficulties and will remove many more when it has become a more common study among scholars.

“The Bible conveys to us its didactic lesson in a very occasional, indirect, and indefinite way. Its method is literary, not dogmatic. It teaches, as it were, without intending to teach; relates a history, and leaves us to infer the lesson; indites a psalm expressive of the sentiments awakened in the writer's mind by contemplation of the manifestation which God has made of Himself, and leaves us to find out by poetic sympathy the thought embodied. The Bible contains all sorts of literature—histories, prophecies, poems lyric and dramatic, proverbs, parables, epistles. All are profitable for doctrine, but none are dogmatic; all are excellent for religious edification, but disappointing from the point of view of scholastic theology. Not even the epistles of Paul can properly be characterised as dogmatic in the scholastic sense. The four great epistles are full of doctrine of the most important character, but it is conveyed in an occasional, abrupt, vehement way, by a man engaged in a great controversy as to the meaning of Christianity,—whose bosom is agitated by strong emotion, and whose language is a faithful reflection of his feelings—eloquent, but inexact; crowded with deep, grand thoughts, but with thoughts that struggle for utterance, and are sometimes only half uttered in broken sentences, in which grammar is shipwrecked on the rock of heroic passion. The writing is noble, Divine, inspired in every sense of the term, most profitable for doctrine; but how dif-

ferent from the style of dogmatic theology, with its careful definitions, and minute distinctions, and cold, passionless, scientific diction ! " *

The literary study of the Bible is appropriately called higher criticism to distinguish it from lower criticism which devotes itself to the study of original texts and versions. There are few who have the patience, the persistence, the life-long industry in the examination of the minute details that make up the field of the lower or textual criticism. But the higher criticism is more attractive. It has to do with literary forms and styles and models. It appeals to the imagination and the æsthetic taste as well as to the logical faculty. It kindles the enthusiasm of the young. It will more and more enlist the attention of men of culture and the general public. It is the most inviting and fruitful field of biblical study in our day. Many who are engaged in it are rationalistic and unbelieving, and they are using it with disastrous effect upon the Scriptures and the orthodox faith. There is also a prejudice in some quarters against these studies and an apprehension as to the results. This prejudice is unreasonable. This apprehension is to be deprecated. It is impossible to prevent discussion. The church is challenged to meet the issue. It is a call of Providence to conflict and to the triumph of evangelical truth. The Divine Word will vindicate itself in all its parts. These are not the times for negligent Elis or timorous and presumptuous Uzzahs. Brave Samuels and ardent Davids who fear not to employ new methods and engage in new enterprises and adapt themselves to altered situations, will overcome the Philistines with their own weapons. The higher criticism has rent

* A. B. Bruce, *The Chief End of Revelation*, London, 1881, p. 284, seq.

the crust, with which rabbinical tradition and Christian scholasticism have encased the Old Testament, overlaying the poetic and prophetic elements with the legal and the ritual. Younger biblical scholars have caught glimpses of the beauty and glory of biblical literature. The Old Testament is studied as never before in the Christian church. It is beginning to exert its charming influence upon ministers and people. Christian theology and Christian life will ere long be enriched by it. God's blessing is in it to those who have the Christian wisdom to recognize and the grace to receive and employ it.

CHAPTER IX.

HEBREW POETRY.

THE Hebrews were from the most ancient times a remarkably literary and poetic people. Poetry pervaded and influenced their entire life and history. The Bible has preserved to us a large amount of this poetry, but it is almost exclusively religious poetry. And notwithstanding that the most ancient poetry of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt is likewise religious, we yet have abundant evidence from the poetic lines and strophes quoted in the historical books, as well as statements with regard to other poetry not included in the collections known to us,—abundant evidence that a large proportion of the poetic literature of the Hebrews, relating to the everyday life of the people, and to those national, social, and historical phases of experience that were not strictly religious, has been lost to us. For reference is made to the *book of the wars of Jahveh* (Num. xxi. 14), and the *book of Yashar* (Josh. x. 13 ; 2 Sam. i. 18), anthologies of poetry earlier than any of the poetic collections in the Hebrew Scriptures ; and also to a great number of songs and poems of Solomon with reference to flowers, plants, trees, and animals (1 Kings iv. 32, 33). The mention of Ethan, Heman, Chalcol and Darda, the sons of Mahol, in connection with the wisdom and poems of Solomon,

opens a wide field of conjecture with regard to the great amount of their poetry which has been lost (1 Kings iv. 31). And if we consider that such a masterpiece as the book of Job is the product of a sacred poet whose name, or at least connection with the poem, has been lost, how many more such great poems and lesser ones may have disappeared from the memory of the Hebrew people during their exile and prolonged afflictions. For we cannot believe that such sublime odes as Exod. xv. and Judges v. could exist alone. These masterpieces of lyric poetry must have been the flower and fruit of a long and varied poetical development.

Prof. Reuss admirably states the breadth of Hebrew poetry :

“ All that moved the souls of the multitude was expressed in song ; it was indispensable to the sports of peace, it was a necessity for the rest from the battle, it cheered the feast, and the marriage (Is. v. 12 ; Amos. vi. 5 ; Judges xiv.), it lamented in the hopeless dirge for the dead (2 Sam. iii. 33), it united the masses, it blessed the individual, and was everywhere the lever of culture. Young men and maidens vied with one another in learning beautiful songs, and cheered with them the festival gatherings of the villages, and the still higher assemblies at the sanctuary of the tribes. The maidens at Shilo went yearly with songs and dances into the vineyards (Judges xxi. 19), and those of Gilead repeated the sad story of Jephtha's daughter (Judges xi. 40), the boys learned David's lament over Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 18) ; shepherds and hunters at their evening rests by the springs of the wilderness sang songs to the accompaniment of the flute (Judges v. 11). The discovery of a fountain was the occasion of joy and song (Num. xxi. 17). The smith boasted defiantly of the products of his labour (Gen. iv. 23). Riddles and witty sayings enlivened the social meal (Judges xiv. 12 ; 1 Kings x.). Even into the lowest spheres the spirit of poetry wandered and ministered to the most ignoble pursuits' (Is. xxiii. 15 *seq.*)*

* Art. *Heb. Poesie*, Herzog *Encyklopädie*, II. Aufl., V., p. 672, *seq.*

I. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HEBREW POETRY.

In the Hebrew poetry preserved to us in the sacred Scriptures we observe the following characteristics:

1. *It is religious poetry.* Indeed it was most suitable that Hebrew poetry should have this as its fundamental characteristic; for the Hebrews had been selected by God from all the nations to be His own choice possession, His first-born among the nations of the earth (Exod. iv. 22; xix. 5); and therefore it was their distinctive inheritance that they should be a religious people above all things else. And it is of the very nature of religion that it should express itself in song; for religion lays hold of the deepest emotions of the human soul, and causes the heart-strings to vibrate with the most varied and powerful feelings of which man is capable, which can only find expression through the voice and pen in those forms of human language which alone by their varied movement can express these varied emotions. From this point of view Hebrew poetry has unfolded a rich and manifold literature that not only surpasses in this regard the noblest products of the most cultivated Indo-Germanic races, the Greek, the Roman, and the Hindu; but also lies at the root of the religious poetry of the Jewish synagogue and the church of Christ, as their fruitful source, their perennial well-spring of life and growth. No poetry has such power over the souls of men as Hebrew poetry. David's psalms, Solomon's sentences, Isaiah's predictions, the trials of Job, are as fresh and potent in their influence as when first uttered by their masterly authors. They are world-wide in their sway; they are everlasting in their sweep. The songs of Moses and the Lamb are sung by heavenly choirs.

2. *It is simple and natural.* Ewald states that "He-

brew poetry has a simplicity and transparency that can scarcely be found anywhere else—a natural sublimity that knows but little of fixed forms of art, and even when art comes into play it ever remains unconscious and careless of it. Compared with the poetry of other ancient peoples, it appears as of a more simple and child-like age of mankind, overflowing with an internal fulness and grace that troubles itself but little with external ornament and nice artistic law.”* Hence it is that the distinction between poetry and rhetorical prose is so slight in Hebrew literature. The Hebrew orator, especially if a prophet, inspired with the potent influences of the prophetic spirit, and stirred to the depths of his soul with the divine impulse, speaks naturally in an elevated poetic style, and accordingly the greater part of prophecy is poetic. And so when the priest or king stands before the people to bless them, or lead them in their devotions, their benedictions and prayers assume the poetic movement. Thus there is the closest correspondence between the emotion and its expression, as the emotion gives natural movement and harmonious undulations to the expression by its own pulsations and vibrations. These pulsations are expressed by the beat of the accent, which, falling as a rule on the ultimate in Hebrew words, strikes with peculiar power; and the vibrations are expressed in accordance with the great variety of movement of which they are capable in the parallelism of members. As Robertson Smith correctly says: “Among the Hebrews all thought stands in immediate contact with living impressions and feelings, and so if incapable of rising to the abstract is prevented from sinking to the unreal.”† This faithful mirroring of the concrete in the poetic ex-

* *Die Dichter*, I., p. 15.† *British Quarterly*, January, 1877, p. 36.

pression is the secret of its power over the masses of mankind who are sensible of its immediate influence upon them, although they may be incapable of giving a logical analysis of it.

3. *It is essentially subjective.* The poet sings or writes from the vibrating chords of his own soul's emotions, presenting the varied phases of his own experience, in sorrow and joy, in faith and hope, in love and adoration, in conflict, agony, and despair, in ecstasy and transport, in vindication of himself and imprecation upon his enemies. Even when the external world is attentively regarded, it is not for itself alone, but on account of its relation to the poet's own soul as he is brought into contact and sympathy with it. This characteristic of Hebrew poetry is so marked in the Psalter, Proverbs, and book of Job, as to give their entire theology an anthropological character. Man's inmost soul, and all the vast variety of human experience, are presented in Hebrew poetry as the common experience of humanity of all ages and of all lands.

4. *It is sententious.* The Hebrew poet expresses his ethical and religious emotions in brief, terse, pregnant sentences loosely related with one another, and often without any essential connection, except through the common unity of the central theme. They are uttered as intuitions, that which is immediately seen and felt, rather than as products of logical reflection, or careful elaborations of a constructive imagination. The parts of the poem, greater and lesser, are distinct parts, the distinction often being so sharp and abrupt that it is difficult to distinguish and separate the various sections of the poem, owing to the very fact of the great variety of possibility of division, in which it is a question simply of more or less. The author's soul vibrates with the beat-

ings of the central theme, so that the movement of the poem is sometimes from the same base to a more advanced thought, then from a corresponding base, or from a contrasted one ; and at times, indeed, step by step in marching or climbing measures. As Aglen says, " Hebrew eloquence is a lively succession of vigorous and incisive sentences, producing in literature the same effect which the style called arabesque produces in architecture. Hebrew wisdom finds its complete utterance in the short, pithy proverb. Hebrew poetry wants no further art than a rhythmical adaptation of the same sententious style."* Hence the complexity and confusion of Hebrew poetry to minds which would find strict logical relations between the various members of the poem, and constrain them after occidental methods. Hence the extravagance of Hebrew figures of speech, which transgress all classic rules of style, heaping up and mixing metaphors, presenting the theme in such a variety of images, and with such exceeding richness of coloring, that the western critic is perplexed, confused, and bewildered in striving to harmonize them into a consistent whole. Hebrew poetry appeals through numberless concrete images to the emotional and religious nature, and can only be apprehended by entering into sympathetic relations with its own poetic spirit, and by following the guidance of its members to their central theme, to which they are all in subjection as to a prince, while in comparative independence of one another.

5. *It is realistic.* Professor Shairp says: " Whenever the soul comes into living contact with fact and truth, whenever it realizes these with more than common vividness, there arises a thrill of joy, a glow of emotion.

* *Bible Educator*, Vol. II., p. 340.

And the expression of that thrill, that glow, is poetry. The nobler the objects, the nobler will be the poetry they awaken when they fall on the heart of a true poet." * Now the Hebrew poets entered into deep and intimate fellowship with external nature, the world of animal, vegetable, and material forces; and by regarding them as in immediate connection with God and man, dealt only with the noblest themes. For to the Hebrew poet all nature was animate with the influence of the Divine Spirit, who was the agent in the creation, brooding over the chaos, who conducts the whole universe in its development toward the exaltation of the creature to closer communion with God, so that it may attain its glory in the divine glory. Hence all nature is aglow with the glory of God, declaring Him in His being and attributes, praising Him for His wisdom and goodness, His ministers to do His pleasure, rejoicing at His advent and taking part in His theophanies. And so it is the representation of Hebrew poetry that all nature shares in the destiny of man. In its origin it led by insensible gradations to man, its crown and head, the masterpiece of the divine workman. In his fall it shared with him in the curse; and to his redemption it ever looks forward, with longing hope and throes of expectation, as the redemption of the entire creation. And so, there is no poetry so sympathetic with nature, so realistic, so sensuous and glowing in its representations of nature, as Hebrew poetry. This feature of the sacred writings, which has exposed them to the attacks of unbelieving men of science, presenting a wide and varied field of criticism, is really one of their most striking features of excellence; commending itself to the believing student of nature in that,

* *Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, p. 13.

while it does not teach truths and facts of science in scientific forms, yet it alone, of ancient poetry, has laid hold of the eternal principles, the most essential facts and forms of objects of nature, with a sense of truth and beauty that none but sacred poets, enlightened by the Spirit of God, have been enabled to do. Hence it is that not even the sensuous romantic poetry of modern times, enriched with the vast stores of research of modern science, can equal the poetry of the Bible in its faithfulness to nature, its vividness and graphic power, its true and intense admiration of the beauties of nature and reverence of its sublimities.

II. THE FORMS OF HEBREW POETRY.

The leading characteristics of Hebrew poetry determine its forms of expression; its internal spirit sways and controls the form with absolute, yea, even capricious, power. The Hebrew poets seem acquainted with those various forms of artistic expression used by the poets of other nations to adorn their poetry, measure its movements, and mark its lines and strophes; yet they do not employ them as rules or principles of their art, constraining their thought and emotion into conformity with them, but rather use them freely for particular purposes and momentary effects. Indeed Hebrew poetry attained its richest development at a period when these various external beauties of form had not been elaborated into a system, as was the case at a subsequent time in other nations of the same family of languages.

1. *The form of the verses.* There are various ways employed in the poetry of the sister languages of measuring and adorning the verses. Thus *rhyme* is of exceeding importance in Arabic poetry, having its fixed rules*

* Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2d edit., II., pp. 377-81.

carefully elaborated. But no such rules can be found in Hebrew poetry. Rhyme does exist, and is used at times with great effect to give force to the variations in the play of the emotion by bringing the variations to harmonious conclusions; but this seldom extends beyond a couplet or triplet of verses. So also the Hebrew poet delights in the play of words, using their varied and contrasted meanings, changing the sense by a slight change of a letter, or contrasting the sense all the more forcibly in the use of words of similar form and vocalization, and sometimes of two or three such in the parallel verses. Alliteration and assonance are also freely employed. All this is in order that the form may correspond as closely as possible to the thought and emotion in their variations, as synonymous, antithetical, and progressive; and that the coloring of the expression may heighten its effect. The principle of rhyme, however, remains entirely free. It is not developed into a system and rules of art.

So also the measurement of the verses, or the principle of *metres*, is thoroughly developed in Arabic poetry, where they are ordinarily reckoned as sixteen in number.* Repeated efforts have been made to find a system of metres in Hebrew poetry. Thus Josephus† represents Exod. xv. and Deut. xxxii. as written in hexameters, and that the Psalms were written in several metres, such as trimeters and pentameters. Eusebius‡ says that Deut. xxxii. and Ps. xviii. are in heroic metre of sixteen syllables, and that trimeters and other metres were employed by the Hebrews. Jerome§ compares Hebrew poetry with that of the Greek poetry of Pindar, Alcæus,

* Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2d edit., II., p. 387.

† *Antiquities*, ii. 16; iv. 8; vii. 12.

‡ *De Prop. Evang.*, xi. 5.

§ *Preface to the book of Job*.

and Sappho, and represents the book of Job as composed mainly of hexameters with the movement of dactyls and spondees; and * finds in the Psalter iambic trimeters, and tetrameters. But these writers seem to have been misled by their desire to assimilate Hebrew poetry to the great productions of the classic nations with which they were familiar. No such system of metres can be found in connection with the accepted system of Hebrew accentuation and vocalization. The Jews, who became for many centuries the sole custodians of the Hebrew text, did not accept any such system, but arranged the system of poetic accentuation simply for cantillation in the synagogues.

More recent attempts have been made to explain and measure Hebrew verses after the methods of the Arabic and Syriac. Thus William Jones † endeavored to apply the rules of Arabic metres to Hebrew poetry; E. J. Greve, also, in 1791 and 1810; but this involves the revolutionary proceeding of doing away with the Massoretic system entirely, and in its results is far from satisfactory. The Arabic poetry may be profitably compared as to spirit, characteristics, figures of speech, and emotional language, as Wenrich has so well done, ‡ but not as regards metres, for these, as the best Arabic scholars state, are of a comparatively late period when compared with Hebrew poetry, and were possibly preceded by an earlier and freer poetic style.

Saalchütz § endeavored to construct a system of Hebrew metres, retaining the Massoretic vocalization, but

* In his *Epist. ad Paulam*.

† *Com. Poet. Asiatic. curav.*, Elchhorn, 1777, p. 61, seq.

‡ *De Poesiis Heb. atque Arabic. orig. indole mutuoque consensu atque discrimine*, Lipsiæ, 1843.

§ *Von der Form der Hebräischen Poesie*, 1805.

contending that the accents do not determine the accented syllable, and so pronouncing the words in accordance with the Aramaic, and the custom of Polish and German Jews, on the penult instead of the ultimate. More recently, Bickell * strives to explain Hebrew poetry after the analogy of Syriac poetry. His theory is that Hebrew poetry is essentially the same as Syriac, not measuring syllables, but counting them in regular order. There is a constant alternation of accented and unaccented syllables, a continued rise and fall, so that only iambic and trochaic feet are possible. The Massoretic accentuation and vocalization are rejected and the Aramaic put in its place. The grammatical and rhythmical accents coincide. The accent is, like the Syriac, generally on the penult. The parallelism of verses and thought is strictly carried out.

Dr. Bickell, whose familiarity with Syriac literature and Hebrew scholarship are well known, has, as must be admitted, carried out his theory with a degree of moderation and thoroughness which must command admiration and respect. Not distinguishing between long and short syllables, and discarding the terminology of classic metres, he gives us specimens of metres of 5, 7, 12, 6, 8, 10 syllables, and a few of varying syllables. He has applied his theory to the whole of Hebrew poetry,† and arranged the entire Psalter, Proverbs, Job, Lamentations, Song of Songs, most of the poems of the historical books, and much of the prophetic poetry in accordance with these principles. He has also reproduced the effect in a translation into German, with the same number of

* *Metricos Biblica*, 1879; *Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrica*, 1882.

† *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.*, 1880, p. 557; *Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrica*, 1882.

syllables and strophical arrangement.* The theory is attractive and deserves fuller consideration than can be given to it here; yet it must be rejected on the ground that it does away with the difference between the Hebrew and the Aramaic families of the Shemitic languages; and would virtually reduce the Hebrew to a mere dialect of the Aramaic. It overthrows the traditional accentuation upon which Hebrew vocalization and the explanation of Hebrew grammatical forms largely depend.

Hebrew poetry, as Ewald has shown, may, on the Masoretic system of accentuation and vocalization, be regarded as generally composed of verses of seven or eight syllables, with sometimes a few more or a few less, for reasons that can be assigned.† This is especially true of the ancient hymns,‡ and those Psalms having certain melodies indicated in their titles; yet even here we must regard Hebrew poetry as at an earlier stage of poetic development than the Syriac. The poet is not bound to a certain number of syllables. While in the main making the length of the verses correspond with the parallelism of the thought and emotion, he does not constrain himself to uniformity as a principle or law of his art; but increases or diminishes the length of his verses in perfect freedom in accordance with the rhythmical movements of the thought and emotion themselves. The external form is entirely subordinated to the internal emotion, which moves on with the utmost freedom, and assumes a poetic form merely as a thin veil which does not so much clothe and adorn as shade and color the native beauties of the idea. This movement

* *Dichtungen der Hebräer. I. Geschichtliche und Prophetische Lieder. II. Hieb III. Der Psalter.*

† *Dichter*, I., p. 108, *seq.*

‡ Exod. xv., Deut. xxxii., and Judges v.

of emotion gives rise to a general harmony of expression in the parallelism of structure in lines and strophes — a parallelism which affords a great variety and beauty of forms. Sometimes the movement is like the wavelets of a river flowing steadily and smoothly on, then like the ebbing and flowing of the tide in majestic antitheses, and again like the madly-tossed ocean in a storm, all uniformity and symmetry disappearing under the passionate heaving of the deepest emotions of the soul.

The first to clearly state and unfold the essential principle of Hebrew verse was Bishop Lowth,* although older writers, such as Rabbi Asarias, and especially Schœttgen,† called attention to various forms of parallelism. Lowth distinguishes three kinds.

(1) *Synonymous.*

“O Jehovah, in Thy strength the king shall rejoice;
And in Thy salvation how greatly shall he exult!
The desire of his heart Thou hast granted unto him,
And the request of his lips Thou hast not denied.”

PS. xxi. 1, 2.

(2) *Antithetical.*

“A wise son rejoiceth his father;
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.”

PROV. x. 1.

(3) *Synthetic.*

“Praise ye Jehovah, ye of the earth;
Ye sea monsters, and all deeps:
Fire and hail, snow and vapor,
Stormy wind, executing His command.”

PS. cxlviii. 7, 8.

* *De Sacra Poesi Hebr.* xix., 1753; also *Preliminary Dissertation* to his work on Isaiah, 1778.

† *Horæ Heb.*, Diss. vi., *De Exergasia Sacra*.

Bishop Lowth's views have been generally accepted, although open to various objections; for the majority of the verses are synthetic, and these in such a great variety that it seems still more important in many cases to classify and distinguish them than to make the discriminations proposed by Bishop Lowth. There is a general mingling of the three kinds of parallelism in Hebrew poetry, so that seldom do the synonymous and antithetical extend beyond a couplet, triplet, or quartette of verses. The poet is as free in his use of the various kinds of parallelism as in the use of rhyme or metre, and is only bound by the principle of parallelism itself. Bishop Jebb * added a fourth kind, which he called the introverted parallelism, where the first line corresponds with the fourth, and the second with the third, thus :

“ My son, if thine heart be wise,
 My heart also shall rejoice ;
 Yea, my reins shall rejoice,
 When thy lips speak right things.”

PROV. xxiii. 15, 16.

But this is a difference in the structure of the strophe and of the arrangement of the parallelism, rather than of the parallelism itself, as Wright properly states.†

Other schemes have been proposed, but none have been exhaustive and satisfactory, and none have found acceptance generally among scholars. It is sufficient for us at present to recognize in Hebrew poetry the essential principle of parallelism itself. This parallelism of members was until recently thought to be a peculiarity of Hebrew poetry, as a determining principle of po-

* *Sacred Literature*, § iv., 1800.

† *Art. Hebrew Poetry* in *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*.

etic art, although it is used among other nations for certain momentary effects in their poetry; but recent discoveries have proved that the ancient Assyrian, Babylonian, and Akkadian hymns have the same dominant feature in their poetry, so that the conjecture of Schrader,* that the Hebrews brought it with them in their emigration from the vicinity of Babylon, is highly probable. Indeed, it is but natural that we should go back of the more modern Syriac and Arabic poetry to the more ancient Assyrian and Babylonian poetry for illustrations of the poetry of the Hebrews, which was historically brought into connection with the latter and not with the former. Taking these ancient Shemitic poetries together, we observe that they have unfolded the principle of parallelism into a most elaborate and ornate artistic system, which among other nations has been known and used, but remained comparatively undeveloped, whilst other nations have developed the principles of rhyme and metre which have been known and used, but remain undeveloped by the Hebrews, Assyrians, and Babylonians.

2. In addition to the principle of parallelism, others have sought a principle of measurement of the verses of Hebrew poetry by the accent. Thus Lautwein,† Ernst Meier,‡ and more recently Julius Ley.§ The latter has elaborated quite a thorough system, with a large number of examples. He does not interfere with the Massoretic system, except in the use of the *maqeph* and *metheg*, and his theory of a circumflex accentuation in monosyllables at the end of

* *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theo.*, i., 122.

† *Versuch einer richtigen Theorie von d. biblischen Verskunst*, 1775.

‡ *Die Form der Hebr. Poesie*, 1853.

§ *Grundsätze d. Rhythmus des Vers- und Strophenbaues in d. Hebr. Poesie*, 1875.

a verse; but his arrangement of Hebrew poetry into hexameters, octameters, decameters, etc., depends largely upon his views of substitution and compensation, which are to account for the irregularities of the verses; and upon the variety of the breaks or *cæsuras*, as, for instance, in the octameter, which may be composed of 4 + 4 tones, or 2 + 6, 3 + 5, or 5 + 3. His theory also results in producing longer verses than seem suited to the principle of the parallelism, and the spirit of Hebrew poetry. At the same time it seems to us evident that the accent has great power in Hebrew verse. The thought is measured by the throbbings of the soul in its emotion, and this is naturally expressed by the beat of the accent. The accent has no unimportant part to play in English verse, but in Hebrew, as the poetic accent always corresponds with the logical accent, and that is as a rule on the ultimate, it falls with peculiar power. Even in prose the accent controls the vocalization of the entire word, and in pause has double strength. How much more is this the case in poetry, where the emotion expressed by homogeneous sounds causes it to beat with exceeding power and wonderful delicacy of movement. This can hardly be reproduced or felt to any great extent by those who approach the Hebrew as a dead language. We can only approximate to it by frequent practice in the utterance of its verses. The accent may be used as a principle of measurement to a very large extent in Hebrew poetry, but it is not an absolute law, for whilst many poems and strophes are uniform in this respect, the poet breaks away from it and increases or diminishes the number of accents, as well as words, to correspond with the movements of his thought and emotion.

Upon these two principles of the parallelism of mem-

bers and the play of the accent the form of Hebrew verse depends. The ancient verse divisions have been obscured and lost, even if they were ever distinctly marked. We can recover them only by entering into the spirit of the poetry, and allowing ourselves to be carried on in the flow of emotion, marking its beats and varied parallelism. These features of Hebrew poetry make it a "universal poetry," for the parallelism can be reproduced in the main in most languages into which Hebrew poetry may be translated, and even the same number of accents may be to a great extent preserved; only that the coloring of the words, and the varied rhythm of their utterance, and the strong beating of the accent, can only be experienced by a Hebrew scholar in the careful and practiced reading of the Hebrew text.

III. THE PARALLELISM OF MEMBERS.

Having considered the characteristics of Hebrew poetry and the forms of its verses in general, we have now to examine more particularly the various kinds of parallelism.

The simplest form of the parallelism of Hebrew poetry is the distich, where two lines or verses balance one another in thought and expression, as in the earliest specimen of poetry in the Bible (Gen. iv. 23, *seq.*), called the sword song of Lemekh:

"'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Wives of Lemekh, oh, give ear to my song;
Surely a man do I slay for wounding me,
And a boy for hurting me.
If sevenfold Cain be avenged,
Then Lemekh seventy and seven."

We have here six lines in three couplets. In the first

couplet the parallelism is completely synonymous; "wives of Lemekh" being synonymous with "'Adah and Zillah;" and "give ear to my song" with "hear my voice"; that is to say, the same essential idea is expressed in the two lines in language which varies only as synonymous terms and expressions vary. In the second couplet the terms are also synonymous, except in one particular, where there is an emphatic progress in the descent from "man" to "boy." In the third couplet, whilst the thought is synonymous, there is yet an emphasis in the changing of two terms, from "Cain" to "Lemekh," and from "sevenfold" to "seventy and seven."

A beautiful example, resembling the last couplet, is given in the chorus of the damsels in praise of the victories of David (1 Sam. xviii. 7):

"Saul smote his thousands,
And David his myriads."

Antithetical distichs are most numerous and varied in the book of Proverbs, thus (Prov. x. 1-5):

- "1. A wise son maketh glad his father;
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.
- "2. Treasures of wickedness profit not;
But righteousness delivereth from death.
- "3. Jehovah will not let the desire of the righteous famish;
But the craving of the wicked He disappointeth.
- "4. He becometh poor that worketh with an idle hand;
But the hand of the diligent maketh rich.
- "5. He that gathereth in fruit harvest is a wise son;
But he that lies in deep sleep in grain harvest is a base son."

In the second of these couplets the antithesis is throughout: "Righteousness" to "treasures of wickedness," and "delivereth from death" to "profit not." Usually,

however, there are one or more synonymous terms to make the antithesis more emphatic. In the fourth couplet "hand" is a common term, and the contrast is of "idle" and "diligent," "becometh poor" and "maketh rich." In the third couplet "Jehovah" is a common term with "He," and "desire" synonymous with "craving," in order to the antithesis of "righteous" with "wicked," and "will not let famish" with "disappointeth." In the first couplet "son" is a common term; "father" and "mother" are synonymous, in order to the antithesis of "wise" and "foolish," "maketh glad" and "grief." In the fifth couplet "son" is a common term, "fruit harvest" is synonymous with "grain harvest," whereas "wise" has as its antithesis "base," and "gathereth" "lies in deep sleep."

Sometimes the antithesis is limited to a single term, as in Prov. xvi. 9:

"Man's heart deviseth his way;
But Jehovah directeth his steps."

Here the contrast is between "man's heart" and "Jehovah," the remaining terms are synonymous.

The antithesis sometimes becomes more striking in the antithetical position of the terms themselves, as in Prov. xiii. 24:

"He that spareth his rod, hateth his son;
But he that loveth him seeketh him chastisement."

The common terms are "father" and "son," the antithetical, "spareth his rod" with "seeketh him chastisement," and "hateth" with "loveth"; but that which closes the first line begins the second, and that which begins the first closes the second.

Parallelism is ordinarily progressive in that great

variety of forms which such a rich and powerful language as the Hebrew renders possible.

The blessing of Abram by Me'chizedek (Gen. xiv. 19, 20) is composed of two progressive distichs :

"Blessed be Abram of God Most High,
 Founder of heaven and earth ;
 And blessed be God Most High,
 Who hath delivered thy adversaries into thy hand."

In the first of these couplets the second line advances from the idea of "God Most High" into that of "Founder of heaven and earth." In the second couplet, the second line advances from "God Most High" into "who hath delivered thy adversaries into thy hand."

The blessing of Rebekah by her brothers (Gen. xxiv. 60) is a progressive distich :

"O thou our sister, become thousands of myriads,
 And may thy seed inherit the gate of those that hate them."

The second line sums up the "thousands of myriads" of the first, in order to give the climax of the wish, in the inheritance of the gate of their enemies.

The words of Moses when the ark of the covenant set forward and when it rested are couplets (Num. x. 35) :

"Arise, Jehovah, and let Thine enemies be scattered ;
 And let those who hate Thee flee from before Thee.

Return, Jehovah, ()
 To the myriads of thousands of Israel."

The first of these couplets is synonymous throughout ; the second is an example of an unfinished line, the pause in the poetical movement is to give more emphasis to the second line when its advanced idea is expressed.

The *tristich* is developed from the distich with the

same variety of parallelisms. The song of Sarah (Gen. xxi. 6, 7) gives us both a distich and tristich :

“ Laughter hath God made for me.
Whosoever heareth will laugh with me.
Who could have said to Abraham,
Sarah doth suckle children,
For I have borne a son for his old age.”

The distich is synonymous in general, although there is an advance in thought by bringing in “ whosoever heareth ” to take part in the laughter of joy. The tristich is progressive in that the second line gives the object of the saying of the first, and the third the reason of it ; while at the same time, the term “ borne a son ” is synonymous with “ suckle children ” of the second line, and the term “ for his old age ” is synonymous with “ Abraham ” of the first line.

The blessing of Noah (Gen. ix. 25-27) is comprised of two distichs and a tristich.

“ Cursed be Canaan.
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem,
And let Canaan be their servant.
May God spread out Japhet,
And may He dwell in the tents of Shem,
And let Canaan be their servant.”

In the first distich we have another example of an unfinished line, the second progressive to it. In the second distich we have a simple progression in the thought. In the final tristich the progression runs on through the three lines. It is also worthy of note that the last line is in the three examples of the nature of a refrain.

There are two interesting specimens of the tristich in

the blessing of the sons of Joseph by Jacob (Gen. xlviii 15-20):

"The God before whom my fathers walked, Abraham and Isaac;
The God who acted as my shepherd from the first even to this day;
The Malakh who redeemed me from every evil—bless the lads.
And let my name be named in them;
And the name of my fathers, Abraham and Isaac,
And let them increase to a great multitude in the midst of the land."

The first tristich is in its three lines synonymous so far as the first half of the lines, but in the second half there is a steady march to the climax. The second tristich is synonymous in its first and second lines, where the leading idea of the name is varied from Jacob himself to Abraham and Isaac; but the third line is an advance in thought.

The priest's blessing (Num. vi. 23) is also an example of a synonymous tristich:

"Jehovah bless thee and keep thee;
Jehovah let His face shine upon thee and be gracious to thee;
Jehovah lift up His face upon thee and give thee peace."

The *tetrastich* is formed from the distich, and consists generally of pairs balanced over against one another, but sometimes of three lines against one; rarely there is a steady march of thought to the end.

The oracle respecting Jacob and Esau (Gen. xxv. 23) 's an example of balanced pairs:

"Two nations are in thy womb,
And two peoples will separate themselves from thy bowels;
And people will prevail over people,
And the elder will serve the younger."

The pairs are synonymous within themselves, but progressive with reference to one another.

The blessing of Ephraim by Jacob (Gen. xlviii. 19) is an example of antithetical pairs :

"He also will become a people,
And he also will grow great ;
But yet his younger brother will become greater than he,
And his seed will become abundance of nations."

The song of the well (Num. xxi. 17-18) is an interesting and beautiful example of a more involved kind of parallelism, where the second and third lines constitute a synonymous pair ; while at the same time, as a pair they are progressive to the first line, and are followed by a fourth line progressive to themselves :

Synon. a "Spring up well ! Sing to it !
b Well that princes have dug ;
b The nobles of the people have bored,
c With sceptre, with their staves,"

The dirge of David over Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33-37) presents a similar specimen, where, however, the first and fourth lines are synonymous with one another, as well as the second and third lines :

"Was Abner to die as a fool dieth !
Thy hands were not bound,
And thy feet were not put in fetters ;
As one falling before the children of wickedness, thou did'st fall."

A fine example of a tetrastich, progressive throughout, is found in the extract from an ancient ode (1 Chron. xii. 8), describing the Gadites who joined David's band :

"Heroes of valor, men, a host,
For battle, wielders of shield and spear ;
And their faces were faces of a lion,
And like roes upon the mountains for swiftness."

The *pentastich* is usually a combination of the *distich*

and tristich. A beautiful specimen is given in Josh. x. 12, 13, probably a strophe of an ode of victory over the Canaanites at Bethhoron, which has been lost :

“Sun stand still in Gibeon, .1
 And moon in the valley of Ajalon; a
 And the sun stood still, a
 And the moon stood, a
 Until the people avenged themselves on their enemies.” 6

The first and second lines are essentially synonymous, and so the third and fourth ; but the second pair is progressive to the first, and the fifth line is progressive to the second pair.

The oracle with which Amasai joined David's band (1 Chron. xii. 18) is an example of the same kind, save that the fifth line is progressive to the previous four lines :

“Thine are we, David,
 And with thee, son of Jesse,
 Peace, peace to thee,
 And peace to thy helpers ;
 For thy God doth help thee.”

The *hexastich* is a combination of two tristichs, or a tetrastich and distich, and is often used in poems. The blessing of Jacob by Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 27 *seq.*) gives us an example of a tetrastich and hexastich :

“See the smell of my son !
 It is like the smell of a field which Jehovah hath blessed.
 And may God give thee of the dew of heaven,
 And the fulness of earth, and abundance of corn and new wine.”

“May peoples bless thee,
 And nations do thee homage,
 Be thou lord of thy brethren,
 And may the sons of thy mother do thee homage.
 Blessed be those who bless thee,
 And cursed be those who curse thee.”

The tetrastich has its first line unfinished ; its second progressive thereto ; the third and fourth lines are also progressive. The hexastich is composed of three couplets, the first and second having their lines synonymous, the third couplet antithetical, but the pairs are progressive with reference to one another.

Isaac's blessing of Esau (Gen. xxvii. 39, 40) is also a hexastich :

“ Lo far from the fatness of the earth will thy dwelling-place be,
And far from the dew of heaven above,
And by thy sword wilt thou live ;
And thy brother wilt thou serve.
And it will come to pass when thou wilt rove about,
Thou wilt break off his yoke from upon thy neck.”

Longer groupings of lines are found in poems of various kinds : the description of the horse in Job xxxix. 19-25 has fourteen lines, the conclusion of the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.) has seventeen lines.

IV. THE STROPHE.

The strophe is to the poem what the lines or verses are in relation to one another in the system of parallelism. They are composed of a greater or lesser number of lines, sometimes equal, and sometimes unequal. Where there is a uniform flow of the emotion the strophes will be composed of the same number of lines, and will be as regular in relation to one another as the lines of which they are composed ; but where the emotion is agitated by passion, or broken by figures of speech, or abrupt in transitions, they will be irregular and uneven. The strophes are subject to the same principles of parallelism as the lines themselves, and are thus either synonymous to one another, antithetical, or progressive, in those sev-

eral varieties of parallelism already mentioned. A favorite arrangement is the balancing of one strophe with another on the principle of the distich, then again of two with one as a tristich. Thus the song (Deut. xxxii.) has three parts of four strophes in each part, arranged in double pairs of strophe and antistrophe, according to the scheme of $3 \times 2 \times 2$. The song of Deborah (Judges v.) is composed of three parts, with three strophes in each part according to the scheme of 3×3 . These divisions are determined by the principles of parallelism, not being indicated by any signs or marks in the Hebrew text. One of the earliest examples of strophes is in the ode (Num. xxi. 27-30), composed of three strophes gradually diminishing in accordance with its dirge-like character, a favorite conceit of Hebrew poets; thus of 6.5.4 lines. The ode is abrupt in style, rapid in transitions, full of rare forms and expressions, with frequent alliterations, and of real beauty:

" Come to Hesbon !
 Built, yea established be the city of Sihon ;
 For fire went forth from Hesbon,
 Flame from the city of Sihon.
 It consumed Ar of Moab,
 The lords of the high places of Arnon.

" Woe to thee, Moab !
 Thou art lost, people of Chemosh !
 He hath given over his sons unto flight,
 And his daughters unto captivity,
 Unto the king of the Amorites, Sihon !

" Then we shot at them.—He was lost.—
 Hesbon unto Dibon.—
 And we wasted them even to Nophah,
 With fire unto Medebah."

The oracle of Balaam (Num. xxiv. 3-9) is composed of five strophes, according to the scheme; 5.6.4.5.4 lines.

" Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor;
Oracle of the man whose eye was shut;
Oracle of one hearing the words of God,
Who was gazing at the vision of the Almighty,
Fallen down and with eyes uncovered.

" How excellent thy tents, Jacob!
Thy dwellings, Israel!
Like streams spread out,
Like gardens by a river,
Like aloes which Jehovah planted,
Like cedars by the water.

" Water flows from his buckets,
And his seed are on many waters,
That his king may be higher than Agag,
And his kingdom exalt itself.

" God bringeth him forth from Egypt,
Like the swiftness of the yore-ox hath he;
He devoureth nations, his adversaries,
And their bones he cruncheth,
And their arrows crusheth.

" He doth bow down, doth couch as a lion,
And as a lioness; who would stir him up?
Blessed be those who bless thee,
But cursed be those who curse thee."

The last song of David (2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7) is composed of five strophes of five lines each (the first strophe being restored to its original form by elimination of title and editorial comments):

" Oracle of the man raised up on high,
The spirit of Jehovah speaks in me;
And His word is upon my tongue,
The God of Israel doth say to me,
The Rock of Israel doth speak.

" A ruler over men—righteous ;
A ruler in the fear of God.
Yea, he is like the morning light when the sun rises,
A morning without clouds.
From shining, from rain, tender grass sprouts from the earth.

" Is not thus my house with God ?
For an everlasting covenant hath He made with me,
Arranged in all things, and secured,
Yea, all my salvation and every delight
Will He not cause it to sprout ?

" But the worthless, like thorns all of them are thrust away,
For they cannot be taken with the hand.
The man touching them
Must be armed with iron, and the spear's staff,
And with fire they will be utterly consumed."

Further illustrations of the strophe will be given in connection with the external marks of division now to be considered. The simplest and most natural of these is the Refrain. A good example of the Refrain is given in Pss. xlii. and xliii., which are really one :

" As a hart which crieth out after the water brooks,
So my soul crieth out for Thee, O God !
My soul doth thirst for God, for the God of life :
How long ere I shall come to appear before the face of God ?
My tears have been to me food day and night ;
While they say unto me all day, ' Where is thy God ? '
These things would I remember, and would pour out my soul with-
in me :
How I used to pass along in the throng, used to lead them up to
the house of God,
With the sound of rejoicing and praise, a multitude keeping fes-
tival,
Why art thou bowed down, my soul ? and why art thou moan-
ing within me ?
Wait on God : for yet shall I praise Him,
The deliverance of my face, and my God.

" Wherefore would I remember Thee from the land of Jordan, and the Hermons, from the mount Mizar.

Deep unto deep is calling to the sound of Thy cataracts ;

All Thy breakers and Thy billows do pass over me :

By day Jehovah will appoint His mercy,

And by night His song will be with me, prayer to the God of my life.

I must say to the God of my rock, Why dost Thou forget me ?

Why go I mourning because of the oppression of an enemy ?

As a breaking in my bones my adversaries do reproach me ;

While they say unto me all day, ' Where is thy God ? '

Why art thou bowed down, my soul ? and why art thou moaning within me ?

Wait on God : for yet shall I praise Him,

The deliverance of my face, and my God.

" Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an unmerciful nation ;

Against a man of deceit and wickedness, deliver me.

O Thou God, my fortress, why dost Thou cast me off ?

Why must I go about mourning because of the oppression of an enemy ?

Send Thy light and Thy truth : let them lead me ;

Let them bring me unto Thy holy mount, even to Thy dwellings,

That I may come to the altar of God,

To the God of the joy of my rejoicing,

That I may praise Thee with harp, O God, my God.

Why art thou bowed down, my soul ? and why art thou moaning within me ?

Wait on God : for yet shall I praise Him,

The deliverance of my face, and my God."

The strophes have each nine lines, the refrain three lines. We are well aware that other arrangements of the lines are usual, and that objection may be taken to our elimination of ver. 7 *a* ; but it seems clearly established that a copyist's mistake has caused the refrain of the first strophe to be deprived of its closing word, which begins this verse ; and the other three words are easiest

to explain as copyist's mistakes, also repeated from the refrain.

Psalm viii. is a beautiful example of a hymn with a refrain, having the peculiarity that the refrain begins the first strophe and closes the second :

“ Jehovah, our Lord,
 How excellent is Thy name in all the earth !
 ‘ Thou whose glory doth extend over the heavens,
 Out of the mouth of little children and sucklings
 Thou dost establish strength because of Thine adversaries,
 To silence enemy and avenger.
 When I see Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers,
 Moon and stars which Thou hast prepared ;
 What is frail man, that Thou shouldst be mindful of him ?
 Or the son of man, that Thou visitest him ?

When Thou didst make him a little lower than the angels,
 With glory and honor crowning him,
 Thou mad’st him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands ;
 All things Thou didst put under his feet :
 Sheep and oxen, all of them ;
 And also beasts of the field ;
 Birds of heaven, and fishes of the sea ;
 Those that pass through the paths of the seas.

Jehovah, our Lord,
 How excellent is Thy name in all the earth ! ”

But the refrain does not always divide the poem into equal strophes. Thus the dirge (2 Sam. i. 19-27) is composed of three parts, which melt away according to the scheme of 18, 5, 1. The refrain itself does not always correspond throughout. Thus in Ps. lxxx. it increases itself for emphasis in the heaping up of the divine names in the successive strophes ; and where the two middle strophes constitute a double strophe, giving the allegory of the vine with a double refrain at the close, massing together a series of imperatives. Ps. xlv.

gives us a varying refrain and three gradually-increasing parts. The refrain is also used for the division of larger pieces of poetry, as in the Song of Songs, where it divides the poem into five acts ; and in the prophet Isaiah, xl.-lxvi., which it divides into three great divisions.*

Another means of marking the strophes is the alphabet, whereby the line or strophe begins with successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet. This seems to have been designed as an aid to the memory, and to mark the advance step by step. They constitute, as it were, ladders up which the poet climbs in his prayers, exhortations, and praises, and down which he climbs in his lamentations. Sometimes the alphabet in its order marks the initial letters of the lines, as in Pss. xii. and cxi. ; sometimes of couplets, as in Pss. xxv., xxxiv., cxlv. ; and again in strophes of four lines, as in Pss. ix., x., and xxxvii. ; and in the long Ps. cxix. in greater strophes, in which every couplet begins with the same letter, eight times repeated in each strophe. The alphabetic structure reaches its culmination in the book of Lamentations, which is composed of five songs, four being alphabetical. In the first and second the strophes are of three couplets, in the third song also of three couplets ; but each of these begins with the letter proper to the strophe, so that it is repeated three times in each strophe. The fourth song is composed of alphabetical strophes of two couplets.

The *Selah* in the Psalter is thought by some, notably a recent scholar, Julius Ley, to always mark the divisions of the strophe when it occurs ; but in our judgment it is rather a musical sign, and has no relation to the poetic structure whatever.

* The author has recently discovered that Gen. i. is a poem of the Creation in six strophes with a refrain. The lines are ordinarily five-toned. Strophes i. and ii. have seven lines each ; iii.-v. ten lines each ; vi. is a double strophe of twenty lines each. See *the Old Testament Student*, Chicago, April,

V. THE MEASUREMENT BY WORDS OR ACCENTS.

The accent seems to measure the Hebrew verses, so that in the main the lines will have the same number of beats; but the delight of Hebrew poetry in its freedom prevents the carrying of the principle out into the forms of metrical laws. The three-toned lines, which may, in a restricted sense, be named trimeters, are favorites in early poetry; then come four-toned lines and five-toned. Six-toned lines occur, but they are not so frequent. There can be no doubt that the Maqqeph, as placed at present, has reference to cantillation in the synagogue, and not the original metrical movement. Yet there is no reason to doubt that in the main it corresponds with the old metrical arrangement. It must, however, be rejected in some cases, and in others inserted, where it is not found in the present text. The power of the language to reduce the number of accented words, by joining two or more together, must have been of great service to the Hebrew poet. As a specimen, we give from the first oracle of Balaam (Num. xxiii. 7, *seq.*) the first strophe in Hebrew transliterated:

Min—'arâ'm | yanhê'ni | Bâla'q.
 Me'lekh | Môâ'b | mêhar'rê—qêdem.
 L'khâh | 'ârâh—lî | ya'qôbbh
 Ul'khâh | zô'mâh | yishrâ'êl
 Mâh—'eqqôb | lô—qabbôh | 'êl
 Umâh—'ez'ôm | lô—zâ'am | Jahveh.

To show this as far as possible to the English reader we translate:

“From Aram | Balaq | brings me,
 The king | of Moab | from the mountains of the East.
 O come | curse for me | Jacob
 And oh come | execrate | Israel.

How can I denounce | what God | doth not denounce ?
 And how can I execrate | what Jehovah | doth not execrate ?

“ For from the top | of rocks | I see him,
 And from hills | I spy him.
 Lo a people | alone | will he dwell,
 And among nations | he will not | be reckoned.
 Who hath counted | the dust | of Jacob ?
 And as to number | the fourth | of Israel ?
 Let me myself die | the death | of the upright,
 And let my last end | be | like his.”

The closing distich is of the nature of a refrain. There is but one exception to three-toned lines; the second line of the second strophe having but two tones.

The second prophecy of Balaam is the same in structure (Num. xxiii. 18-24): two strophes of six lines each, three-toned, with a refrain in four three-toned lines. The several prophecies of Jacob (Gen. xlix.) are three-toned, also the songs of Moses (Deut. xxxii. and xxxiii.). The ode (Exod. xv.) is four-toned. The refrain we give in Hebrew:

Shîrû | l' Jahveh | khî—ghá'ôh | ghá'âh
 Sûs | w' rôkh*bhô | râmah | bayyâm.

We translate the first strophe:

“ My strength | and song is Jah | and He has become | my salvation.
 The same is my God | that I may glorify Him | my Father's God |
 that I may exalt Him.
 Jehovah is | a warrior, | Jehovah is | His name.
 Chariots of Pharaoh | and his host | He hath thrown | into the sea,
 And the choicest | of his charioteers | are drowned | in the sea of
 reeds.
 The depths | cover them over, | they descend | into the deep places
 | like a stone.”

The last line is lengthened to *five* tones for the climax.

Psalm iv. is an evening prayer of David, composed of

five strophes in the scheme of 3-4-3-4-3, and generally four-toned lines :

"When I call | answer me | God | of my righteousness,
In trouble | Thou didst enlarge | for me,
Be gracious to me | and hear | my prayer.

"Ye sons of man | how long | shall my glory | become shame ?
Will ye love | vanity | will ye seek | a lie ?
But know | that Jehovah | hath wonderfully selected | a pious man
for Himself.
Jehovah | heareth | when I call | unto Him.

"Be ye angry | but do not | sin,
Speak | in your heart | upon your bed | and be still,
Sacrifice | sacrifices of righteousness | and trust | unto Jehovah.

"Many | are saying | who can show us | good ?
Let wave upon them | the light | of thy face | Jehovah.
Thou hast given | joy | in my heart,
More than at the time when | their corn | and their new wine |
increased.

"In peace | together | I will lie down | to sleep,
For Thou | Jehovah | alone,
In confidence | causeth me to dwell."

The first psalm is an example of two strophes, the one of eight four-toned lines, the other of six three-toned lines :

"O the blessedness | of the man | — — —
Who does not | walk | in the counsel | of the wicked,
And in the way | of sinners | doth not | stand,
And in the seat | of scorers | doth not | sit ;
But on the contrary | in the doctrine | of Jehovah | is his delight,
And in His doctrine | he meditateth | day | and night :
And so he is | like a tree | planted | by brooks of water,
Which yieldeth | its fruit | in its season,
And its leaf | withereth not | and all which he doeth | he causeth
to prosper.

" Not so | the wicked | ———

But on the contrary, like the chaff | which the wind | driveth away,
Wherefore the wicked | shall not stand | in the judgment,
Nor sinners | in the congregation | of the righteous,
For Jehovah knoweth | the way | of the righteous ;
But the way | of the wicked | goeth to ruin."

The nineteenth psalm is an interesting example of varied measurement. It is composed of two parts: the first of two strophes of six and eight four-toned lines, the last of eight and six five-toned lines. It is only necessary to call attention to these five-toned lines as really composed of 3 + 2, with a cæsura-like pause. Thus, the first strophe of the second part :

" The doctrine | of Jehovah | is perfect, | restoring | the soul ;
The testimony | of Jehovah | is reliable, | making wise | the simple ;
The statutes | of Jehovah | are upright, | rejoicing | the heart ;
The command | of Jehovah | is pure, | enlightening | the eyes ;
The fear | of Jehovah | is clear, | standing | for ever ;
The judgments | of Jehovah | are truth, | they are righteous | alto-
gether :
Those desirable | more than gold | or than fine | gold ;
Sweeter | than honey | and the drippings | of the comb."

The twenty-third psalm shows a beautiful progress in the gradual lengthening of the lines in the three strophes :

" Jehovah is | my shepherd | I cannot want.
In pastures | of green grass | He causeth me to lie down ;
Unto waters | of refreshment | He leadeth me ;
Myself | He restoreth | ———

" He guideth me | in paths | of righteousness | for His name's .
Also | when I walk | in the valley | of dense darkness,
I fear not | evil, | for Thou art | with me,
Thy rod | and Thy staff | they | comfort me.

"He prepareth | before me | a table | in the presence | of my adversaries ;
 Has he anointed | with oil | my head, | my cup | is abundance ;
 Surely goodness | and mercy | pursue me | all the days | of my life,
 And I shall return | to dwell in the house | of Jehovah | for
 length | of days."

Isaiah xxvi. 1-6 gives an example of six-toned lines :

"A city of strength | have we, | salvation | is put | for walls | and
 rampart,
 Open | the gates | that a righteous nation | keeping | faithfulness
 | may enter.
 One in purpose firm | Thou keepest | in peace ; | in peace, | for in
 Thee | he trusteth.
 Trust in Jehovah | for ever, | yea, in Jah | Jehovah | a rock ever-
 lasting.
 'Tis He doth bring down | dwellers | on high | a city | inaccessible ;
 He bringeth it low, | he bringeth it low | unto earth, | razeth it |
 to the dust ;
 The foot | trampleth it, | feet | of the afflicted, | steps | of the
 weak."

Examples might be multiplied indefinitely, but we have given enough to illustrate the principle.

VI. POETIC LANGUAGE.

As in all other languages, so in the Hebrew the poetic style is elevated, artistic, and cultivated, and hence above the every-day talk of the houses and streets. For this purpose it selects not the language of the schools, which becomes technical, pedantic, and artificial, but the older language, which, with its simplicity and strong vital energy, is in accord with the poetic spirit.

Thus in the forms of the language there is (a) an occasional use of the fuller sounding forms, as *athah* for *ah*, of the fem. noun ; (b) the older endings of prepositions in *bal* for *bal*, *minni* for *min*, *'äl* for *'el*, *'äl* for *'al*,

'*ādhl* for '*ad*'; (c) the older case endings of nouns as *chaytho* for *chayyath*, and *benl* for *ben*; (d) the older suffix forms in *mō* and *lēmō* for *ām*; (e) the fuller forms of the inseparable prepositions *lēmō* for *l*, *bēmō* for *b*; (f) the *nun* paragogic or archaic ending of 3 pf. of verbs, *ān* for *ā*.

The style is more primitive, using many archaic expressions that have been lost to the classic language. There are in the older books so-called Aramaisms. There are, however, carefully to be distinguished, an earlier and a later Aramaism. The monuments of Assyria and Babylon show us that the earlier Hebrew language was historically in contact with the languages of Syria and the Euphrates. The Assyrian and Babylonian shed great light on these poetic archaisms. A later connection of Hebrew with Aramaic is indicated in the later historical writings of the Bible, which is of an altogether different type. The poetic language is also remarkably rich in synonyms, exceedingly flexible and musical in structure and thus the older forms are retained in these synonyms for variety of representation, when they have long passed from use in the prose literature.

VII. THE KINDS OF HEBREW POETRY.

Hebrew poetry may be divided into three general classes, Lyric, Gnostic, and Composite. (1) *Lyric* poetry is the earliest development of literature. We find it scattered through the various historical and prophetic books, and also in the great collection of Hebrew lyric poetry, the Psalter. The three pieces ascribed to Moses, Ex. xv., Psalm xc., and Deut. xxxii., subdivide lyric poetry into the hymn, the prayer, and the song. The hymn is found in rich variety—the evening hymn, the morning hymn, the hymn in a storm, hymns of vic-

tory or odes, as that of the victory over the Egyptians, Ex. xv.; over the Moabites, Num. xxi.; the ode of the battle of Beth Horon, Josh. x.; the song of Deborah, Judges v.; the thanksgiving as in the song of Hannah, and many pieces of Isaiah; the grand oratorio, Ps. xcii.-c., and the most of the fourth and fifth books of the Psalter, containing the greater and lesser hallels, the hallelujah psalms and doxologies. The prayers are in rich variety—evening and morning prayers, a litany before a battle, prayers for special and national deliverance; psalms of lamentation, penitence, religious meditation, of faith, and assurance—in all the rich variety of devotion. These are most numerous in the psalms ascribed to David, and may be regarded as especially the Davidic type, although the xc. psalm ascribed to Moses and Hab. iii. are among the most wonderful specimens, as the one traverses the past and compares the frailness of man with the everlasting God, and the other marches into the future and bows with trembling in the presence of the most sublime Theophany. A special form of this class is the dirge, as the laments of David over Jonathan and Abner, and in the exceedingly elaborate and artistic book of Lamentations, and not infrequently in the prophets. The songs are abundant, and in every variety: the sword song of Lamech, the birth song of Sarah, the blessings of the patriarchs Noah, Abraham, Isaac, the priest Aaron, and the swan song of David. In the Psalter we have songs of exhortation, warning, encouragement, historical recollections, prophetic anticipations, and the love song. The psalms of Asaph are chiefly of this class.

(2) *Gnomic* poetry has but few specimens in the historical books. We have a riddle of the ancient hero Samson:

"From the eater | came forth | food,
And from the strong | came forth | sweetness";

followed by a satire :

"If you | had not ploughed | with my heifer,
You would not | have found out | my riddle."

JUDGES xiv. 14-18.

Another witty saying of this hero is preserved :

"With the jaw-bone | of an ass | a heap | two heaps ;
With the jaw-bone | of an ass | have I smitten | a thousand men.

JUDGES xv. 16.

The Hebrews were fond of this species of poetry, but we could hardly expect to find much of it in the Bible.* Its religious and ethical forms are preserved in a rich collection in the Proverbs, consisting of fables, parables, proverbs, riddles, moral and political maxims, satires, philosophical and speculative sentences. There are upwards of five hundred distinct couplets, synonymous, antithetical, parabolical, comparative, emblematical, besides fifty larger pieces of three, four, five, six, seven, and eight lines, with a few poems, such as the temperance poem (xxiii. 29-35), the pastoral (xxvii. 22-27), the pieces ascribed to the poets Aluqah, Agur, and Lemuel, the alphabetical praise of the talented wife (xxx. 10-31), and the great admonition of Wisdom in fifteen advancing discourses (i.-ix.).

A few specimens of this kind of poetry will suffice to illustrate it.

There are several riddles ascribed to *Aluqah* in Prov. xxx. : (1) The riddle of the insatiable things, xxx. 15-16 :

"Two daughters | (cry) : give ! | give !
Three | are they | which cannot be satisfied ;
Four | say not | enough."

* See Wünsche, *Die Räthselweisheit bei d. Hebräern*, Leipzig, 1833.

The answer :

‘ Sheol, | and a barren | womb ;
Land | cannot be satisfied | with water ;
And fire | says not | enough.”

(2) The riddle of the little wise people, xxx. 24-28 :

“ Four | are | little ones of earth ;
But they | are wise | exceedingly.”

The answer :

“ The ants | are a people | not strong,
But they prepare | in summer | their food ;
Conies | are a people | not mighty,
But they make | in the rock | their home ;
A king | the locusts | have not,
But they march forth | in bands | —all of them ;
The spider | with the hands | thou mayest catch,
But she | dwells in the palaces | of kings.”

A beautiful temperance piece is found in xxiii. 29-35.
composed of ten lines of five tones each :

“ Who hath woe ? | who hath wretchedness ? | who hath | stripes |
| who hath murmuring ?
Who hath wounds | without cause ? | who hath | dark flashing |
eyes ?
Those tarrying long | at the wine | : those going | to seek | spiced
wine.
Look | not | on wine | when it | sparkleth red ;
When it giveth | in the cup | its glance | ; floweth | smoothly :
Its end is | that as a serpent | it biteth, | and like an adder | it
stingeth.
Thine eyes | will see | strange things, | and thine heart utter |
perverse things ;
So that thou wilt become | like one lying down | in the heart of
the sea | ; and like one lying down | on the top of a mast.
They have smitten me | (thou wilt say), but I am not | hurt |
they have wounded me, | I feel it not :
How long | ere I shall arise | that I may seek it | yet | again ? ”

Another choice piece is the representation of the slug-gard, xxiv. 30-34, eleven lines of three tones each :

" By the field | of a slothful man | I passed,
 And by the vineyard | of a man | without understanding
 And lo, its wall | was grown up | with thorns,
 Its face | covered over | with nettles,
 And its wall | of stones | was broken down ;
 So that I gazed | to give it | attention ;
 I saw | —I received | instruction.
 A little sleep, | a little | of slumber
 A little folding | of the hands | to lie down ;
 And thy poverty | comes | walking on,
 And thy want | as a man | armed with a shield."

(3) *Composite* poetry starts in part from a lyric base as in prophecy, beginning with the blessings of Jacob and Moses, and the poems of Balaam, and in lesser and greater pieces in the prophetic writings, the Song of Songs, and Lamentations ; in part from a gnomic base as in the book of Job, and Ecclesiastes.

We shall present a few specimens.

The first Act of the Song of Songs will give an illustration of the use of the dramatic element :

SCENE I.

Solo. Let him kiss me with some kisses of his mouth,
 For thy caresses are better than wine ;
 For scent thine ointments are excellent ;
 O thou sweet ointment, poured forth as to thy name !
 Therefore the virgins love thee.

Solo. Oh ! Draw me !

Chorus. After thee we will run !

Solo. O that the king had brought me to his apartment !

Chorus. We will rejoice and we will be glad with thee,
 We will celebrate thy caresses more than wine.
 Rightly they love thee.

SCENE II.

Shulamite. Dark am I—

Chorus. —but lovely—

Shulamite. —daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar.

Chorus. —as the curtains of Solomon.

Sh. Gaze not upon me because I am swarthy,

Because the sun scanned me :

My mother's sons were angry with me,

They set me as keeper of the vineyards ;

My vineyard, which is my own, have I not kept.

O tell me, thou whom my soul loveth :

Where feedest thou thy flock ?

Where dost thou let them couch at noon ?

Why should I be, as one straying

After the flocks of thy companions ?

Ch. If thou knowest not of thyself, thou fairest among women.

Go forth for thyself at the heels of the flock,

And feed thy kids at the tabernacles of the shepherds.

SCENE III.

Solomon. To my mare in the choice chariot of Pharaoh I liken thee
my friend,

Lovely are thy cheeks in rows (of coin), thy neck in thy neck-
lace !

Rows of gold we will make thee, with chains of silver.

Sh. While the king was in his divan my nard gave its scent.

A bundle of myrrh, is my beloved to me, that lodgeth between
my breasts ;

A cluster of henna, is my beloved to me, in the vineyards of
En Geddi.

Sol. Lo thou art lovely, my friend,

Lo thine eyes are doves.

Sh. Lo thou art lovely, my beloved,

Yea sweet, yea our arbour is green.

Sol. The timbers of our houses are cedar,

Our wainscoting cypress.

Sh. I am the flower of Sharon,

The anemone of the valleys.

Sol. As the anemone among the thorns,

So is my friend among the daughters.

Sh. As the apricot among the trees of the wood,

So is my beloved among the sons.

In its shadow I delighted to sit,

And its fruit was sweet to my taste,
 O that he had brought me to the vineyard,
 His banner over me being love—
 Sustain me with raisin-cakes, support me with apricots;
 For I am love sick—
 His left hand would be under my head,
 His right hand would embrace me

 I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem, by the gazelles,
 Or by the hinds of the field that ye are use not,
 And that ye stir not up love till it please.

The finest piece of ethics in the Old Testament is found in Job xxxi :

- " (1) A covenant have I concluded with my eyes ;
 How then should I consider a maiden ?
 Else what portion of Eloah from above,
 Or inheritance of Shadday from on high ?
 Is there not destruction for the evil doer ?
 And calamity for the worker of iniquity ?
 Is He not seeing my ways ;
 And all my steps counting ?
- " (2) If I have walked with falsehood,
 And my foot has made haste unto deceit
 Let Him weigh me in righteous balances,
 That Eloah may know my integrity !
 If my step used to incline from the way,
 And after my eyes my heart did walk,
 And to my palms a spot did cleave,
 Let me sow and let another eat,
 And as for my crops, let them be rooted out.
- " (3) If my heart hath been seduced unto a woman,
 And at the door of my neighbour I have lurked
 Let my wife grind the mill for another,
 And over her let others bend ;
 For that were infamy ;
 And that were an iniquity for the judges ;
 For it is a fire that devoureth unto Abaddon
 And in all my increase it rooteth up.

- " (4) If I used to refuse the right of my slave,
Or my maid servant, when they plead with me ;
What could I do when God should rise up,
And when He would investigate, what could I respond to
Him ?
Did not, in the womb, my maker make him,
And one being form us in the belly ?
- ' (5) If I used to keep back the weak from his desire,
And caused the eye of the widow to fail,
And ate my portion alone,
And the orphan did not eat of it :—
Nay—from my youth did he grow up unto me as a father ;
And from the womb of my mother I was accustomed to guide
her.
- ' (6) If I could see a man ready to perish without clothing
And the poor having no covering—
Surely his loins blessed me,
And from the fleece of my sheep he warmed himself.
If I lifted up my hand over the orphan,
When I saw my help in the gate —
My shoulder—let it fall from its blade,
And my arm—let it be broken from its bone !
For there was fear unto me of calamity from God,
And because of His majesty I could not.
- (7) If I have made gold my confidence,
And unto fine gold said, thou art my trust ;
If I used to rejoice that my wealth was great,
And that my hand had found vast resources ;
If I used to see the light that it was shining brightly,
And the moon moving in splendour,
So that my heart was enticed in secret,
And my hand kissed my mouth :—
This also were an iniquity for judges,
For I had denied El on high.
- " (8) If I was accustomed to rejoice in the calamity of the one hat-
ing me,
Or was excited with joy when evil overtook him ;—

Nay ! I did not give my palate to sinning,
 In asking with a curse his life.
 Verily the men of my tent say :
 Who can shew us one not filled with his meat ?
 Without the stranger used not to lodge,
 My doors to the caravan I used to open.

"(9) If against me my land crieth,
 And together its furrows weep ;
 If its strength I have eaten without silver,
 And the life of its lord I have caused to expire ;
 Instead of wheat let thorns come forth,
 And evil weeds instead of barley.

"(10) If I have covered as man my transgression,
 Hiding in my bosom my iniquity ;
 Because I feared the great multitude,
 And the contempt of the clans made me afraid ;
 And so was silent, would not go out to the gate :—
 O that I had one to hear me—
 Behold my mark !—Let Shadday answer me !
 O that I had the bill (of accusation) my adversary has written !
 Surely I would lift it up on my shoulder,
 I would bind it as a crown of glory upon me,
 The number of my steps would I declare to him,
 As a prince I would approach him."

We shall finally present a specimen of Prophetic Poetry, and indeed the most sublime piece in the Old Testament, as well as one of the most artistic (Is. lii. 13–liii.), consisting of five gradually increasing strophes :

"(1) Behold my servant shall prosper,
 He shall be lifted up and be exalted and be very high.
 According as many were astonished at thee—
 So disfigured more than a man was his appearance,
 And his form than the sons of men ;—
 So shall he startle many nations ;
 Because of him kings will stop their mouths ;
 For what had not been told them they shall see,
 And what they had not heard they shall attentively consider."

- " (2) Who believed our message,
 And the arm of Jehovah, unto whom was it revealed ?
 When he grew up as a suckling plant before us,
 And as a root out of a dry ground ;
 He had no form and no majesty that we should see him,
 And no appearance that we should take pleasure in him ;
 Despised and forsaken of men !
 A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief !
 And as one before whom there is a hiding of the face !
 Despised, and we regarded him not !
- " (3) Verily our griefs *he* bore
 And our sorrows—*he* carried them.
 But *we* regarded him as stricken,
 Smitten of God, and humbled.
 But *he* was one pierced because of our transgressions,
 Crushed because of our iniquities ;
 The chastisement for our peace was upon him ;
 And by his stripes there is healing for us.
 We all like sheep strayed away ;
 Each one turned to his own way.
 While Jehovah caused to light on him the iniquity of us all,
- (4) He was harassed while he was humbling himself
 And he opens not his mouth ;
 Like a sheep that is being led to the slaughter
 And as an ewe that before her shearers is dumb ;—
 And he opens not his mouth.
 From oppression and from judgment he was taken away,
 And among his contemporaries who was considering.
 That he was cut off from the land of the living.
 Because of the transgression of my people, one smitten for
 them ?
 With the wicked his grave was assigned,
 But he was with the rich in his martyr death ;
 Because that he had done no violence,
 And there was no deceit in his mouth.
- " (5) But *Jehovah* was pleased to crush him with grief !
 When he himself offers a trespass offering,

He shall see a seed, he shall prolong days ;
And the pleasure of Jehovah will prosper in his hands :
On account of his own travail he shall see ;
He shall be satisfied with his knowledge ;
My righteous servant shall justify many,
And their iniquities ~~he~~ shall carry.
Therefore will I give him a portion consisting of the many ;
And with the strong shall he divide spoil,
Because that he exposed himself to death,
And he was numbered with transgressors,
And ~~he~~ did bear the sin of many ;
And for transgressors was suffering infliction."

In such pieces as these we find the climax of Hebrew poetic art, where the dramatic and heroic elements combine to produce in a larger whole ethical and religious results with wonderful power. While these do not present us epic or dramatic or pastoral poems in the classic sense, they yet use the epic, dramatic, and pastoral elements in perfect freedom, combining them in a simple and comprehensive manner for the highest and grandest purposes of the prophet and sage inspired of God, giving us productions of poetic art that are unique in the world's literature. The dramatic, epic, and pastoral elements are *means* used freely and fully, but not *ends*. These forms of beauty and grace are simply forms which do not retard the imagination in admiration of themselves, but direct it to the grandest themes and images of piety and devotion. The wise men of Israel present us in the ideals of the Shulamite, Job, and Koheleth, types of noble character, moral heroism, and purity, that transcend the heroic types of the Iliad or Æneid, wrestling as they do with foes to their souls far more terrible than the spears and javelins and warring gods of Greek or Trojan, advancing step by step, through scene after scene and act after

act to holy victory in the fear of God; victories that will serve for the support and comfort of the human race in all time, which has ever to meet the same inconsistencies of evil, the same assaults on virtue, the same struggle with doubt and error, therein so vividly and faithfully portrayed to us. The prophets of Israel play upon the great heart of the Hebrew people as upon a thousand-stringed lyre, striking the tones with divinely-guided touch, so that from the dirge of rapidly succeeding disaster and ruin, they rise through penitence and petition to faith, assurance, exultation, and hallelujah, laying hold of the deep thoughts and everlasting faithfulness of God, binding the past and present as by a chain of light to the impending Messianic future; seeing and rejoicing in the glory of God, which, though now for a season shrouded behind the clouds of disaster, is soon to burst forth in a unique day.*

* *Zech. xiv. 6 seq.*

CHAPTER X.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

THE word of God came to man at first orally, in connection with theophanies. These theophanies are divine manifestations in forms of time and space. From them, as centres, went forth the supernatural influences in word of revelation and deed of miracle. These theophanies attained their culmination in Jesus Christ, the incarnate God, the risen, ascended, and glorified Saviour; and the divine word reached its completion in His Gospel. The word of God, issuing from these theophanic centres, was appropriated more and more by holy men, upon whom the divine Spirit came, taking possession of them, influencing and directing them in the exercise of prophetic ministry. An important part of this ministry was the oral delivery of the divine word to the people of God in ascending stages of revelation. This word was gradually committed to writing, and assumed the literary forms that are presented to us in the canon of Scripture.

“It pleased the Lord, at sundry times and in divers manners, to reveal Himself, and to declare that His will unto His Church, and afterward for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the Church against the corruption of the flesh, and the malice of Satan and of the world; to commit the same wholly unto writing; which maketh the Holy

Scripture to be most necessary; these former ways of God's revealing His will unto His people being now ceased." (*Westminster Confession*, I. 1).

The word of God, as written, is to be appropriated by man through reading it, meditating upon it, and putting it in practice.

Reading is an appropriation through the eye and ear and sense perception, of letters, words, and sentences as signs of thought. Meditation is the use of the faculties of the mind in the apprehension of the substance of thought and emotion contained in these signs, the association of it with other things, and the application of it to other conditions and circumstances. This appropriation must be in accordance with the laws of the apprehending human soul, with the principles of the composition of written documents, and also with the nature of the things contained in and expressed by the sensible signs. Biblical interpretation is a section of general interpretation, and it differs from other special branches in accordance with the internal character of the contents of the Bible. Interpretation is usually regarded as a section of applied logic.* Schleiermacher defines it as the art of correctly understanding an author.† Klausen,‡ as "the scientific establishment and development of the fundamental principles and rules for the understanding of a given discourse." We are constrained to think that this is too narrow a definition. We agree with most interpreters in the opinion that it embraces not only the art of understanding an author, but also the art of ex-

* See Carpsov, *Primas Lineas Herm.*, Helmstadli, 1790, p. 5; Sir Wm. Hamilton, *Logic*, p. 474; Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1841, p. 7.

† *Hermeneutik und Kritik*, Berlin, 1838, p. 3.

‡ In *l. c.*, p. 1.

position or explanation of an author to others.* We are also compelled to go still further and include as a part of interpretation, the practical application of the substance of the writing to other appropriate conditions and circumstances. The older interpreters, especially among the Puritans, regarded this latter as the chief feature. The interpreter needs according to the older writers, *oratio, meditatio, et tentatio*. This *tentatio*, trial, experience, is the most important of all. This was urged by Jesus: "If any man willeth to do His will he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself" (John vii. 17). Bernard says: "He rightly reads Scripture who turns words into deeds." Francis Roberts says: "The mightiest man in practice, will in the end prove the mightiest man in Scripture. Theory is the guide of practice, practice the life of theory; where Scripture contemplation and experience meet together in the same persons, true Scripture understanding must needs be heightened and doubled.†

Biblical interpretation is the central department of biblical study whence all other departments derive their material. In this field the strifes and struggles of centuries have taken place. There is no department of study where there has been so many differences, and where there still remains so much confusion. The Bible has human features and divine features. To understand them in their harmonious combination is the secret of interpretation. This secret is the philosopher's

* Ernesti, *Institutio Interp. N. T.*, 1761, § 10; *Principles of Interpretation*, ed. Moses Stuart, Andover, 4th edition, 1842, p. 14, *seq.*; Morus, *Hermeneutica N. T.*, ed. Eichstädt, Lips., 1797, I., p. 3, *seq.*; Immer, *Hermeneutics*, Andover edition, 1877, p. 10.

† *Clavis Bibliorum*, 4th edit., London, 1675, p. 11; see also Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ*, Jena, 1723, 8th edit., 1764, p. 2, *seq.*

stone after which multitudes of interpreters have been seeking through the Christian centuries. As Lange appropriately says : *

" As Christ has overcome the world by his cross, as the blood of the martyrs has become the seed of the Church, so also the misconceptions and abuse of the Bible have been obliged to more and more redound to its glorification. The battle of Biblical criticism in the first four centuries brought about the collection and establishment of a purified canon ; the arbitrariness of copyists occasioned the collection of codices and the criticism of the text ; the exegesis of the allegorical method, called into life the vindication of the historical sense of Scripture ; the fourfold enchaining of the Bible by exegetical tradition, hierarchical guardianship, ecclesiastical decisions, the Latin language, raised the Bible in the Protestant world almost above the dignity of a historical revelation of God ; the humanistic exposition, as well as the naturalistic explanation of miracles, called into life along with the New Testament Grammar, also the understanding of the New Testament idiom, over against its customary depreciation in comparison with the classic models ; and finally the pantheistic criticism occasioned the revival and rich unfolding of evangelical history."

We shall first consider the history of Biblical interpretation, then on the basis of its history state its principles and methods.

I. RABBINICAL INTERPRETATION.

The Jewish Rabbinical schools from the most ancient times recognized alongside of the written Word of God, another oral or traditional word of much greater extent and authority delivered to the ancient teachers and handed down from generation to generation in the esoteric teaching of the faithful scribes, as the official interpretation of the written word. This was not only the view of the Pharisees, who subsequently committed this

* *Grundriss der biblischen Hermeneutik*, Heidelberg, 1878, p. xxi.

tradition to writing in the Mishnas and Talmuds,* but also of the Zelots and Essenes (see p. 181). It was claimed that this oral divine word had been faithfully handed down from Ezra, who received it by divine inspiration as esoteric wisdom for the initiated disciples. Others claimed a still higher antiquity for it, going back to Joshua and the elders, and even in part to the twelve patriarchs, Enoch and Adam: hence the large number of pseudepigraphs in which this wisdom is contained, as well as in the Talmuds.

This traditional interpretation was of two kinds, *Halacha* and *Haggada*. The *Halacha* was legal, containing an immense number of casuistic distinctions, making fences about the law in wider and wider sweep till the law itself became for the people of God as inaccessible as the temple of Ezekiel, into which none but the priests of the line of Zadok might enter. The *Haggada* was illustrative and practical, embracing a wealth of legend and allegory that so colored and enlarged Biblical history that it became as obscure as the New Testament history upon the *palimpsests* under the legends of the monks that were written over it.

From the older *Halacha* and *Haggada* methods of interpretation, were subsequently separated the *Peshat* and the *Sodh*. The *Peshat* is the determination of the literal sense, and is really a branch of the *Halacha*. The *Sodh* is the determination of the mystical or allegorical sense and is a species of the *Haggada*.†

The rules of Rabbinical interpretation gradually increased in extent. Seven rules of the *Halacha* are as-

* Weber, *System d. Altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, 1880, Leipzig, p. 92, *seq.*

† Wogue in *l. c.*, pp. 134, 164, *seq.*

cribed to Hillel in the Siphra.* These are enlarged in the *Beraitha* of R. Ismael to thirteen.†

These rules are: (1) That which is true of the easier or less is true of the greater or more difficult, and the reverse; (2) Two similar passages supplement one another; (3) That which is clearly established in one part of Scripture is to be presumed in interpreting others; (4)-(11) Eight rules with reference to the relation of the genus to the species, by inclusion, exclusion, contrast, and their relation to a third term, in the forms of Rabbinical logic; (12) The word is determined by the context, and the sentence by the scope of the passage; (13) When two verses contradict, we must wait for a third to explain them. Some of these rules are excellent, and so far as the practical logic of the times went, cannot be disputed. The fault of Rabbinical exegesis was less in the rules than in their application, although latent fallacies are not difficult to discover in them, and they do not sufficiently guard against slips of argument.

The *Haggada* method was elaborated by R. Eliezar into thirty-two rules.‡

The principles of the two methods are admirably summed up by Wogue:

"These forty-five rules may all be reduced to two fundamental considerations. (1) Nothing is fortuitous, arbitrary, or indifferent in the Word of God. Pleonasm, ellipsis, grammatical anomaly, transposition of words or facts, everything is calculated, everything has its end and would teach us something. The casual, the approxi-

* These are given by Schürer, *N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, 1874, p. 447, and Hausrath, *Zeit Jesu*, Heidelberg, p. 96.

† Chiarini in *l. c.*, I., p. 66, *seq.*; Weber in *l. c.*, p. 106, *seq.* The best statement of them, with ample illustrations, is given by Waehner, *Antiquitates Ebraeorum*, Gottingae, 1743, p. 422, *seq.*

‡ Selections of these are given by Chiarini in *l. c.*, I., p. 81. A full statement, with ample illustration, is given by Waehner in *l. c.*, I., p., 396, *seq.*

mate, the insignificant and inconsequential flower of rhetoric, all that belongs to the setting in human language, are strange to the severe precision of Biblical language. (2) As the image of its author, who is one by Himself and manifold in His manifestations, the Bible often conceals in a single word a crowd of thoughts; many a phrase, which appears to express a simple and single idea, is susceptible of diverse senses and numberless interpretations independent of the fundamental difference between literal exegesis and free exegesis, in short, as the Talmud says after the Bible itself, the divine word is like fire which divides itself into a thousand sparks, or a rock which breaks into numberless fragments under the hammer that attacks it. These two points of view, I repeat, are the soul of the Midrash in general; the latter above all serves as the common basis of the *Halacha* and *Haggada*, and it explains, better than any other theory, the long domination of the midrash exegesis in the synagogue."*

This admirable statement shows the radical errors of the Rabbinical idea of the Scriptures: (1) everything must be interpreted in accordance with that *severe precision*, which alone is worthy of God; (2) the Scriptures are altogether divine and have the same attributes of *unity and infinity* that God Himself has. The human features of the Bible are entirely ignored.

The *Sodh* was used in the most ancient times by the Essenes and Zelots and found expression in the numerous apocalypses and pseudepigraphs of the four centuries in the midst of which the Messiah appeared. It attained its culmination in the Cabalistic system of the thirteenth century.† These mystics regarded every letter of the Bible as so highly important that it contained a secret sense for the initiated. The book of Sohar‡ describes the system in the following parable:

"Like a beautiful woman, concealed in the interior of her palace,

* Wogue in *L. c.*, p. 269.

† Ginsburg, *Kabbalah*, London, 1865.

‡ II. 99.

who when her friend and beloved passes by, opens for a moment a secret window and is seen by him alone, and then withdraws herself immediately and disappears for a long time, so the doctrine only shows herself to the chosen, (*i. e.*, to him who is devoted to her body and soul); and even to him not always in the same manner. At first she simply beckons at the passer-by with her hand, and it generally depends upon his understanding this gentle hint. This is the interpretation known by the name רמז. Afterwards she approaches him a little closer, lisps him a few words, but her form is still covered with a thick veil which his looks cannot penetrate. This is the so-called פשר. She then converses with him with her face covered by a thin veil; this is the enigmatical language of חסידות. After having thus become accustomed to her society, she at last shows herself face to face and entrusts him with the innermost secrets of her heart. This is the secret of the law סוד."*

There are three principles of Cabalistic interpretation : (1) *Notarikon*—to reconstruct a word by using the initials of many, or a sentence by using all the letters of a single word for initial letters of other words ; (2) *Ghematria*—the use of the numerical values of the letters of a word for purposes of comparison with other words which yield the same or similar combinations of numbers ; (3) *Temura*—the permutation of letters by the three Cabalistic alphabets, called '*Atbach*, '*Albam*, and '*Athbash*.†

The *Peshat*, or literal interpretation, is used in the Targum of Onkelos, and the Greek version of Aquila, with reference to the law—but found little expression among the ancient Jews. The *Qarites* were the first to emphasize it in the eighth century. Before this time there is no trace of Hebrew grammar, or Hebrew dictionary. The *Qarites* threw off the yoke of Rabbinical Halacha, and devoted themselves to the literal sense and became

* We give the translation of Ginsburg in *l. c.*, p. 130; comp. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alt. Test.*, 1875, Jena, p. 291.

† See Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, London, 1865, p. 131, *seq.*; Wogue in *l. c.*, p. 274, *seq.*; Chiarini in *l. c.*, p. 95, *seq.*; Siegfried in *l. c.*, p. 290, *seq.*

extreme literalists. Influenced by them Saadia introduced the literal method into the Rabbinical schools, and used it as the most potent weapon to overcome the Qarites. He became the father of Jewish exegesis in the middle ages, and was followed by a large number of distinguished scholars who have left monuments of Jewish learning.* Wogue attributes this rise of the literal method to the influence of Arabic learning at Bagdad, Bassora, and Cairo. But the Arabs and the Persians received their impulses from the Nestorian schools of Edessa and Nisibis, which mediated the transition of Greek learning to the Orient, which also from the times of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Lucius of Samosata, had been chiefly characterized by their historic method of exegesis (see p. 325).

Thus in Judaism there grew up three great parties which struggled with one another during the middle ages. The sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament were buried under a mass of tradition that was heaped upon them more and more for centuries until it became necessary for the interpreter, who would understand the holy word itself, to force his way through this mass, as at the present day one who would find the ancient Jerusalem must dig through eighteen centuries of débris under which it has been buried in the strifes of nations.

There is doubtless truth at the bottom of all these systems. There is a certain propriety in distinguishing the fourfold sense. The literal sense will not apply except to the plainest matter-of-fact passages; the Haggada method is necessary in the rhetorical parts of Scripture. The Halacha method is necessary for the determination of the principles embedded in the Scriptures.

* Wogue in *l. c.*, p. 208, seq.

The *Sodh* method is necessary in the interpretation of prophetic symbolism, and the esoteric instruction of the Bible. If each of these four methods had been restricted to its own appropriate sphere in the Bible, they would have co-operated with great advantage—but where these methods are applied at the same time to the same passages with the view that the Scripture has a *manifold* sense; where again these methods are applied arbitrarily to *all* passages; where they are used to remove difficulties, and to maintain traditional opinions; or where any one method is made to usurp the functions of all;—there can only result—as there did result in fact—the utmost arbitrariness and confusion. The Bible was no longer interpreted—it was used as the slave of traditional systems and sectarian prejudices.

II. HELLENISTIC INTERPRETATION.

The Hellenistic Jews were largely under the influence of the Platonic philosophy which they sought to reconcile with the Old Testament Scriptures. The chief of the Hellenistic Jews is Philo of Alexandria. Philo was not a Hebrew scholar, but was acquainted with the Aramaic of Palestine, and probably also with the ancient Hebrew.* He does not use the Hebrew text, but bases himself entirely on the LXX, and uses tradition in its two forms of Halacha and Haggada, but especially the latter, which he elaborates in the direction of the *Sodh* or allegorical method. He distinguishes between the literal sense and the allegorical as between the body and the soul,† the sense like a fluid pervades the letter. The allegory is a wise architect which builds on the ground of the Scriptures an architectural structure.‡

* Siegfried in *J. c.*, p. 141, seq. † *De migr. Abraham* xvi. ‡ *De Somn.* i. 2.

The allegorical method of Philo is so well stated by Siegfried, that we shall build upon him in detail, while we pursue our own method in a more general arrangement. There are three rules to determine when the literal sense is excluded; (1) when anything is said unworthy of God; (2) when it presents an insoluble difficulty; (3) when the expression is allegorical. The last rule alone is sound, the others are *a priori*, and result in the imposition on the Scriptures of the preconceptions and prejudices of the interpreter. The rules of Philo's allegorical method given by Siegfried are twenty-three in number.* We shall arrange them under four heads in a somewhat different order.

I. *Grammatical allegory*. An allegory is indicated in the use of certain particles; in the modifications of words by prefixes or affixes; in stress upon number of noun and tense of verb; in gender of words; in the use or absence of the article. Here grammatical exegesis is insufficient; there are mysterious hidden meanings to be found in these grammatical peculiarities.

II. *Rhetorical allegory* is found: in the repetition of words; in redundancy of style; in reiteration of statement; in changes of expression; in synonyms; in play upon words; in striking expressions; in position of words; in unusual connections of verses; in the omission of what would be expected; in the unexpected use of terms. Here rhetorical exegesis is insufficient; there must be a hidden sense in any departure from the plain prosaic form.

III. *Allegory by means of new combinations* is gained: by changing the punctuation; by giving a word all its possible meanings; by internal modifications of the

* In *l. c.*, p. 165, *seq.*

word; by new combinations of words. This method was more fully wrought out by the Cabalists (see p. 303), and is the most abnormal of all the forms of allegory.

IV. *Symbolism* is of three kinds : of numbers, of things, and of names. This method is the most appropriate of the forms of allegory; its propriety is recognized by modern exegesis when used within due bounds.

To Philo and his school the inner sense attained by allegory was the real sense designed by God. The method of Philo was doubtless used to a great extent among the Essenes and the Zelots. There are traces of it in the pseudepigraphs and apocryphal books that were composed in the time of Philo. Josephus was also influenced by Philo, and was inclined to the use of allegory, as we see from his treatment of the tabernacle.* There is truth at the bottom of the allegorical method, namely, that human language is inadequate to convey the thoughts of God to man. At the best it can only be a sign and external representation. We must go back of the sign to the thing signified. The mistake of the allegorical method is in extending it beyond its legitimate bounds, and making every word and syllable and letter of Scripture an allegory of some kind, and in using it to escape difficulties of philosophy and theology, and in order to maintain peculiar religious views.

III. THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The writings of New Testament Scripture use and interpret Old Testament Scripture. It is important for us to determine the nature and principles of this interpre-

* *Antiq.* iii. 7, 7; Siegfried in *l. c.*, p. 278, seq.

tation, and its relation to the Rabbinical and Hellenistic methods.

In the Old Testament prior to the exile, the prophets use earlier writings by way of citation rather than interpretation. This use is in the nature of free reproduction and application rather than an exposition of their sense. During the periods of oral revelation and prophecy, the interpretation of ancient Scripture was of little importance. It was only when prophecy ceased, and oral revelations were discontinued, that it was necessary to ascertain the divine will by the interpretation of ancient written documents.

After the exile, Ezra introduced the more systematic study of the Scripture, and established the *midrash* method, in seeking for the meaning of ancient Scriptures, and their application to the present. The people were assembled, and Ezra and the Levites "read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and they understood in the reading" (Neh. viii. 8). The aim of Ezra and his associates was to make the law of God so plain that the people generally could understand it.

The New Testament writers constantly use the Old Testament. Do they employ the methods in use by the Palestinian and Hellenistic Jews of their time? Different answers have been given to this question from partisan points of view. It is important to ascertain the real facts of the case. The most important use of the Scripture is ever the last and the highest in the process of interpretation, namely, practical interpretation, or application; for the divine revelation has in view, above all, human conduct. This is most frequently employed in the New Testament by Jesus and His apostles. The most familiar example is in the temptation of Jesus

when He overcomes Satan by the application of the words of the law: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God"; "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God"; "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve" (Matt. iv. 4-10). These will suffice, also, as specimens of the *literal* interpretation as used by Jesus.

In conflict with the Pharisees He sometimes employs the *Halacha* method as most appropriate to controversy with them, defeating them with their own weapons. Thus in John x. 34-36, He employs Ps. lxxxii. 6, arguing from the greater to the less.

"Is it not written in your law I said, ye are gods? If He called them gods, unto whom the word of God came (and the Scripture cannot be broken), say ye of him, whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?"

In Matt. xxii. 43-45, He uses the *Halacha* method of arguing from the inner contrast of general and particular in Ps. cx. 1.

"How then doth David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying: The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I put thine enemies underneath thy feet? If David then calleth him Lord, how is he his son?"

Again in Matt. xii. 3 *seq.*, in the interpretation of the Sabbath-law He quotes from 1 Sam. xxi. 1-7; Num. xxviii. 9-10; Hos. vi. 6; on the principle that Scripture passages may be used to supplement one another.

"Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shew-bread which it was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but only for the priests? Or have ye not read in the law how that on the Sabbath day the

priests in the temple profane the sabbath and are guiltless? But I say unto you, that one greater than the temple is here. But if ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless."

In these and similar instances Jesus interprets Scripture, as a Jewish rabbin, after the *Halacha* method, with which the Pharisees were familiar, and to which they were accustomed in discussion and argument.

Jesus also employs the *Haggada* method. This indeed is His own favorite method of teaching, inasmuch as His discourses were in the main addressed to the people. His method of illustration and enforcement of truth is perfect in its kind as only a divine master could fashion it. If we take the series of parables in Luke xv. as an example, what could be more simple, appropriate, beautiful, and impressive? They have been the gospel of redemption to millions of our race. We shall present some examples of this method of interpretation. He replies to the *bold literalism* of the ruler of the synagogue, Luke xiii. 14 *seq.* :

"There are six days in which men ought to work : on them come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath "; "Ye hypocrites, doth not each of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to the watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan had bound, lo, eighteen years, to have been loosed from this bond on the day of the Sabbath?"

In the interpretation of prophecy and history Jesus comes into connection with the *allegorical* method of interpretation, and it has been claimed that He applies it with the freedom of a Hellenist. In His first discourse in the synagogue of Nazareth (Luke iv. 16-22) He interprets the prophecy (Is. lxi.) as applying to Himself. This prophecy is in its nature figurative, as it presents

the servant of Jehovah in his faithful preaching to the people. Jesus correctly sees the inner sense of the passage and finds His own likeness depicted there. In Matt. xxi. 42, Jesus interprets the corner-stone of Ps. cxviii. 22-23 as referring to Himself and His kingdom. This is not a prophecy in the original passage, but a symbolical representation of the re-establishment of the kingdom of God. The work of Jesus was pre-eminently such a work. Hence the inner sense affords the connection that makes the use of the symbol appropriate. A touching example of the historical allegory is the caution of Jesus (Luke xvii. 32): "Remember Lot's wife" (Gen. xix. 26) in connection with his prediction of the judgment upon Jerusalem and the nations.

We shall now examine some of the most striking passages, in which certain distinguishing features of our Saviour's interpretation appear. The Sadducees came to Him (Matt. xxii. 23-32) with a difficult question under the law (Deut. xxv. 5):

"If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife and raise up seed unto his brother." The case is, "Now there were with us seven brethren: and the first married and deceased, and having no seed, left his wife unto his brother; in like manner the second also, and the third, unto the seventh. And after them all the woman died. In the resurrection therefore whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her."

Jesus does not determine this case by an appeal to the Scripture, but on His own authority, delivers a doctrine which settles it: "In the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels in heaven." He takes occasion, however, to overcome the Sadducean denial of a resurrection by an appeal to Ex. iii. 6: "Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God

of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." It is clear that our Saviour takes the passage out of its context and gives it a meaning which no one would ever have thought of on any principles of exegesis. Where then is the justification, and what is the method? We observe that He derives from the statement of the covenant relation between God and the patriarchs, the principle that God being a living God, the relation is a vital relation, and those who are in this relation are living ones as possessors of the life they have received from God. This perpetuity of life after death tends to the resurrection. Jesus here interprets as the interpreter of the mind of God, with the fulness of the Spirit (John i. 18). It is a transfiguration of the Halacha method. No principle of exegesis can be derived from His example in this case that it will be safe for human exegesis to follow.

In the sermon on the mount (Matt. v. 21, *seq.*), in His use of the laws of the tables, He contrasts His own interpretation of them with the traditional. The latter looked at the external letter and warped this into accordance with traditional theory and practice. He enters into the internal spirit. He goes in His interpretation beyond any human propriety, and interprets them from the point of view of the divine lawgiver Himself. No human interpreter would be justified in following the Master thither. It is His sovereign prerogative so to interpret.

Jesus recognizes the principle of accommodation in the use of the Old Testament (Matt. xix. 3, *seq.*). The law of divorce was granted by Moses, owing to the hardness of the hearts of the people of his time. That law was, however, inconsistent with the original divine ideal at the creation. And here again Jesus interprets from the

mind of God in the Halacha method, the words of Gen. ii. 24: "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh." This He interprets by laying hold of the great thought: "*one flesh*." "So that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." No one would ever have thought of this interpretation but Jesus, who interpreted the mind of God, the creator of man and the author of marriage.

In Luke xxiv. 44 *seq.*, Jesus said:

"These are my words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, how that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms concerning me. Then opened he their mind, that they might understand the Scriptures; and he said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning from Jerusalem."

Here our Saviour grasps the entire Old Testament revelation in its unity, and represents Himself and His kingdom as its central theme. The same is the case in the institution of the Lord's supper where He represents the feast as the new covenant feast over against the old covenant sacrifice.

Jesus Christ in His method of interpretation thus laid down the distinctive principles of scriptural interpretation which enabled His apostles to understand the Old Testament, and delivered them from the perils of the allegorical and legal methods of His times. He uses the four kinds of biblical interpretation, in accordance with the usage of the various classes of men in His times, in those ways that were familiar to the rabbinical school, the synagogue instruction, the popular audience, and the esoteric training of the disciple. He uses all that was

appropriate in these methods; but never employs any of the casuistry or hair-splitting Halacha of the scribes; or any of the idle tales and absurd legends of the Haggada; or any of the strange combinations and fanciful reconstructions of the *Sodh* of the Alexandrians. His use of Scripture is simple, beautiful, profound, and sublime. One sees through the Divine Master that the written Word is the mirror of the mind of God; and the eternal Word interprets the former from the latter. The rabbins interpreted the Scriptures to accord with the traditions of the elders: Jesus interpreted them to accord with the mind of God their author. Hence the characteristic authority with which He spake; the freedom with which He added to the ancient Scriptures, and substituted a higher revelation for the lower wherever it was found necessary. As Dorner appropriately says:

“This is the wondrous charm of His words, their unfathomable, mysterious depth, despite all their simplicity, that they are ever uttered, so to speak, from the heart of the question; for the harmony which binds together and comprehends in one *view* the opposite ends of things, is lovingly and consciously present to Him, since everything is related to His kingdom. Other words of men, this or that man might have spoken; nay, most that is spoken or done by us is merely a continuation of others through us; we are simply therein points of transmission for tradition. But the words which He drew from within—these precious gems, which attest the presence of the Son of Man, who is the Son of God—have an originality of an unique order; they are His, because taken from that which is present in Him. In this sense, His prophetic activity is simply manifestation. Certainly, where in the accommodation of love He condescends to men in figurative speech, or in simple talk, intelligible even to children, or avails Himself of ordinary, especially O. T. ideas, He there suppresses the rays of His originality. But when He does this, it is in order to fill the O. T. husk or the types and forms taken from nature with the highest, the true contents.”*

* *System of Christian Doctrine*, Vol. III., p. 389.

Jesus does not lay down any principles of interpretation. But we venture from the synthesis of His exegesis to state the three following principles: (1) He recognized that the words of Scripture are *living* words of God to man, bearing upon human conduct. They are to be interpreted by entering into living communion with the living God and from internal personal relations to their author; and not by roundabout methods of traditional definitions and illustrative legends. (2) The divine revelation was made on the principle of accommodation to the weakness, ignorance, and sinfulness of man, requiring no more than he was able to bear. The temporary provisions are to be eliminated from the eternal principles and the divine ideals. (3) The Scriptures are an organic whole, the Gospel of the Messiah is the fulfilment of the Old Testament, the Messiah and His kingdom the key to the whole. These were fruitful principles and ought to have guided the Church in all time and preserved it from manifold errors.

The apostles and their disciples in the New Testament use the methods of the Lord Jesus rather than those of the men of their time. The New Testament writers differ among themselves in the tendencies of their thought. Peter, James, and Jude, Matthew and Mark incline to use the Haggada method; Stephen, Paul, and Luke to the more learned Halacha method; John and the epistle to the Hebrews to the *Sodk* or allegorical method; but in them all, the methods of the Lord Jesus prevail over the other methods and ennoble them.

(1) The *Haggada* is used by Peter when he cites Ps. lxi. 25; cix. 8; in Acts i. 20, with reference to the case of Judas. The propriety is in the *parallelism* of the cases of the doom of the traitor and persecutor. Matt., in his gospel, ii. 13-18, makes a similar use of Hos. xi. 1,

and Jer. xxxi. 15, and applies them to the situation of Jesus. There is here a *parallelism* of circumstances, in which the ancient prophecies *illustrate* the descent of Jesus into Egypt and the lamentation at Bethlehem, by the descent of Israel into Egypt and the wars that desolated Judea. There is no *prediction* in these prophecies, or interpretation of them by the evangelist as *prediction*; but the association of the passages with Jesus has its propriety in that He is conceived to be the Messiah, in whom the fortunes of Israel are involved. "Here is incorrectness of form with truth of thought." *

The epistle of James (ii. 21, *seq.*) uses by preference what has been called the moral *Haggada*. To maintain his proposition that faith without works is dead, he cites the examples of Abraham and Rahab (Gen. xxii.; Josh. ii. 8, *seq.*). So he refers to the patience of Job (v. 11) and the fervent prayers of Elijah (v. 17). Paul also uses the *Haggada* in his citation of Ps. xix. 4, to illustrate the going forth of the gospel to the ends of the earth (Rom. x. 18), and of Deut. xxx. 11 *seq.*, to illustrate the truth that the word of the gospel was nigh in the preaching of the apostles, in the faith of the heart, and in the confession of the mouth (Rom. x. 6-10). The epistle to the Hebrews uses it especially in calling the roll of the heroes of faith in chap. xi. There are also a few examples in the New Testament of the use of legends and fables (2 Pet. ii. 4 *seq.*; Jude 9 *seq.*; 2 Tim. iii. 8), for purposes of illustration, which do not commit the authors to their historical truthfulness. (see p. 232, *seq.*).

(2) The *Halacha method* is used by Paul arguing from the less to the greater (1 Cor. ix. 9 *seq.*; Deut. xxv. 4); from analogy (2 Cor. iii. 7; Ex. xxiv. 17); from general

* Tholuck, *All. Test. in N. T.*, 6te Aufl., Gotha, 1868, p. 44.

to particular (Rom. iv. 3 *seq.*, from Gen. xv. 6; Ps. xxxii. 1; 1 Cor. xiv. 21 *seq.*, from Is. xxviii. 11-12); from the combination of passages to prove the corruption of sin (Rom. iii. 9-18; from Pss. xiv. 1-3; v. 9; cxl. 3; x. 7 Is. lix. 7; Ps. xxxvi. 2).

The Halacha method is also used by James to prove his point that whoso transgresseth one of the laws is guilty of all (ii. 7-13) by citing the general law (Lev. xix. 18), and the special commands (Ex. xx. 13, 14), and the principle of mercy and justice (Prov. iii. 34).

(3) *The Allegorical method* is used by Paul in Gal. iv. 24, where Hagar and Sara are taken to represent the Pharisee and the Christian; in 1 Cor. x. 4, where he uses the water from the rock as an allegory of Christ. Here the apostle sees a principle clothed in the history. He uses it to illustrate and enforce an analogous case where the principle applies. As Tholuck says, "The apostle is like one who has seen a finished picture and then afterwards sees in the sketch of it more than we do who have only the sketch." * Is it not rather that with the sun-light of an inspired prophetic insight he sees into the essential features of the ancient histories, whereas to us they are in the obscurities of mere candle-light? He tells us more about them than we can see even with his guidance. It is in the epistle to the Hebrews that the allegorical method has its greatest display in the New Testament. Paul uses it occasionally, the author of the epistle to the Hebrews constantly. As Tholuck says, "The literary character of Paul is Talmudic and dialectic, the epistle to the Hebrews is Hellenistic and rhetorical." † Thus in Heb. iv. the Sabbath of the Old Testament is used to allegorize the Sabbath rest at the end

* In *l. c.*, p. 37.

† In *l. c.*, p. 52.

of the world. In Heb. vii. the person and office of Melchizedek are used to allegorize the Messianic high-priest, and there is an allegory in the etymology of the names Salem and Melchizedek. Here, according to Riehm,* the author "leaves out of consideration the historical meaning of Old Testament passages, and only sees the higher prophetic meaning which belongs to them on account of their ideal contents."

The apostle John uses the allegorical method of symbolism in the number of the beast, 666 (Rev. xiii. 18); the sun-clad woman (xii. 1 *seq.*); the river Euphrates (xvi. 12); the city of Babylon (xvii. 5; xviii. 2); the place Harmageddon (xvi. 16); the prophetic numbers of Daniel (xii. 6; xiii. 5), and the recombination (in xxi.-xxii.) of the ancient prophecies of Ezek. xxxviii.-xxxix.; Dan. vii. 9 *seq.*; xii.; Isa. xxv. 8; lxv. 17 *seq.*, and the descriptions of Paradise (Gen. ii. 8 *seq.*).

There are many who in our times seek to explain away the allegorical interpretation as used in the New Testament as unbecoming to Jesus and His apostles. These forget that it was just this allegorical method with all its abuses that has been chiefly employed in the synagogue and in the church for ages by the ablest and most pious of her interpreters. We cannot do better than quote the judicious reproof of such by Bishop Lightfoot: †

"We need not fear to allow that St. Paul's mode of teaching here is colored by his early education in the rabbinical schools. It were as unreasonable to stake the Apostle's inspiration on the turn of a metaphor or the character of an illustration or the form of an argument, as on purity of diction. No one now thinks of maintaining that the language of the inspired writers reaches the classical stand-

* *Lehrb. Hebräerbriefes*, Neue Ausg., 1867, p. 204.

† *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*. Andover, 1870, p. 370.

ard of correctness and elegance, though at one time it was held almost a heresy to deny this. 'A treasure contained in earthen vessels,' 'strength made perfect in weakness,' 'rudeness in speech, yet not in knowledge,' such is the far nobler conception of inspired teaching, which we may gather from the apostle's own language. And this language we should do well to bear in mind. But, on the other hand, it were sheer dogmatism to set up the intellectual standard of our own age or country as an infallible rule. The power of allegory has been differently felt in different ages, as it is differently felt at any one time by diverse nations. Analogy, allegory, metaphor—by what boundaries are these separated, the one from the other? What is true or false, correct or incorrect, as an analogy, or an allegory? What argumentative force must be assigned to either? We should at least be prepared with an answer to these questions, before we venture to sit in judgment on any individual case."

(4) The apostles were taught by Jesus to consider the old covenant as a whole; to see it as a shadow, type, and preparatory dispensation with reference to the new covenant; to regard the substance, and disregard the form. Hence under the further guidance of the Holy Spirit they eliminated the temporal, local, and circumstantial forms of the old covenant, and gained the universal, eternal, and essential substance; and this they applied to the circumstances of the new covenant, of which they were called to be the expounders. They interpreted in accordance with the mind of the Holy Spirit, as Jesus had interpreted in accordance with the mind of His heavenly Father.

Thus Peter on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 16 *seq.*) grasps the situation and sees in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit the inauguration of the new dispensation described by the prophet Joel (iii.). In his epistle (1 Pet. ii. 9 *seq.*) he applies the Sinaitic covenant of Ex. xix. to the new covenant relations of Jesus. This was from the sense of the unity of both covenants in Christ, and the fulfilment of the earlier in the latter. So the apostle

Paul goes back of the law of Sinai to the Abrahamic covenant and finds that all believers are the true children of Abraham (Rom. iv.). In Col. ii. 17 he represents the ancient institutions as "a shadow of the things to come: but the body is Christ's." And so the author of the epistle to the Hebrews finds the entire system of Levitical priesthood, purification and offerings fulfilled in Christ and His ministry, so that the form is thrown off now that the "very image" of these things has been made manifest (Heb. x. 1 *seq.*). The author of the Apocalypse gathers up the substance of unfulfilled prophecy and attaches it to the second advent of Jesus Christ.

This organic living method of interpretation of Jesus and His apostles is the true Christian method. The errors in the history of exegesis have sprung up to the right and the left of it.

IV. INTERPRETATION OF THE FATHERS AND SCHOOLMEN.

In the ancient church the methods of exegesis* of the Palestinian and Hellenistic Jews, as well as those of Jesus and His apostles, were reproduced. The strife of the various elements that entered into the apostolic church is clearly to be seen in the New Testament itself (Acts xv.; 1 Cor. iii.; Gal. ii.; 1 Tim. i.; James ii.; Rev. ii.).

The Palestinian methods were represented in the Ebionites and the Jewish-Christian tendency that passed over into the church. Thus Papias, in his naïve way,

* For the History of Exegesis in the Christian Church see Rosenmüller, *Historia interpretationis librorum sacrorum in Ecclesia Christiana*, 5 Tom. Hildburghausen, 1795-1814, but especially Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1841, and Samuel Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, Edin., 1843.

appeals to the elders, Aristion, the Presbyter John, and others, rather than to the New Testament, to establish his premillenarianism.* The Clementine pseudepigraph represents the apostle Peter in conflict with Simon Magus, as the embodiment of church authority over against Gnosticism. Peter, speaking of the prophetic writings, is made to say :

"Which things were indeed plainly spoken, but are not plainly written ; so much so that when they are read they cannot be understood without an expounder, on account of the sin which has grown up with men."†

Tertullian also says :

"Our appeal, therefore, must not be made to the Scriptures ; nor must controversy be admitted on points in which victory will either be impossible, or uncertain, or not certain enough. . . . The natural order of things would require that this point should be first proposed, which is now the only one which we must discuss : 'With whom lies that very faith to which the Scriptures belong ? From what, and through whom, and when, and to whom, has been handed down that rule, by which men become Christians ?' For wherever it shall be manifest that the true Christian rule and faith shall be, there will likewise be the true Scriptures and expositions thereof, and all the Christian traditions."‡

Irenæus§ and Cyprian|| lay stress upon the literal method of exegesis and the authority of tradition, and exercised an unfortunate influence upon the early Latin church.

The Hellenistic methods found the greatest representation in the early church. The New Testament writers employed the Greek language and the LXX version. It is probable that the great majority of the earliest Christians were Hellenists. Naturally the influence of Philo

* Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, III., 39.

† *Recognitions*, I., c. 21.

‡ *Adv. Haer.*, c. xix.

§ *Adv. Haer.*, I., c. 9, 4 ; c. 10, 1.

| *Pist.* 74.

and the allegorical method became very great. We see that influence already in the epistle to the Hebrews and the writings of John the apostle. We find it in the epistles of Clement of Rome and Barnabas, of the apostolic fathers; in Justin and the apologists generally.* Clement of Alexandria gave it more definite shape when he distinguished between the body and soul of Scripture and called attention to its fourfold use. He compares it to engrafting: (1) The way in which we instruct plain people belonging to the Gentiles, who receive the word superficially; (2) the instruction of those who have studied philosophy, cutting through the Greek dogmas and opening up the Hebrew Scriptures; (3) overcoming the rustics and heretics by the force of the truth; (4) the gnostic teaching which is capable of looking into the things themselves.† He makes the wise remark:

"The truth is not to be found by changing the meanings, but in the consideration of what perfectly belongs to and becomes the sovereign God, and in establishing each one of the points demonstrated in the Scriptures from similar Scriptures."‡

Klausen well says:

"By the assertion and vindication of this principle of interpretation the Alexandrian teachers have been the preservers of the pure Christian doctrine, when the crass literal interpretation in many parts of the Latin church, especially the African provinces, worked to justify from the sacred Scriptures the grossest ideas of the being of God, the nature of the soul, and the future life."§

Origen carried out the principles of interpretation still further and became the father of the allegorical method in the church. He distinguishes a threefold sense: body, soul, and spirit.] He uses thirteen of

* Klausen in *I. c.*, p. 97, *seq.*

† *Stromata*, VI. 15.

‡ *Stromata*, VII., 16.

§ In *I. c.*, p. 103.

| *Hom. V. in Lev.*

Philo's rules.* He lays stress on the allegory and often uses it to get rid of anthropomorphisms; and turns a good deal of ancient Jewish history into allegory—but he does not neglect the literal sense. He uses the three senses, but ranges them in the order of ascent from lowest to highest, and finds in the *spiritual* sense the one chiefly desirable.

Eucherius of Lyons in the first half of the fifth century † divides the mystical sense into two kinds, the allegorical, what is to be believed in now; the anagogical, what is predicted.‡ In Hilary and Ambrose the allegorical method became dominant in the Latin church. Ambrose says:

“As the Church has two eyes with which it contemplates Christ; namely, a moral and a mystic, of which the former is sharper, the latter milder, so the entire divine Scripture is either natural, or moral or mystic.” §

Tychonius belonged to this school, and laid down seven rules of interpretation: (1) Of the Lord and His body; (2) the twofold division of the Lord's body; (3) promises and law; (4) relation of species and genus; (5) the times; (6) recapitulation; (7) the devil and his body. These rules have more to do with the doctrinal substance of the Scriptures, the relation of the church to Christ, the law to the gospel, and the like. They have been of service in the history of the church and are mentioned with approval by Augustine, although he shows their insufficiency. | Augustine gave the allegorical method

* Siegfried in *l. c.*, p. 353, *seq.*

† *Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiae*. Migne edition, T. 50, p. 727. See Reuss, *Gesch. d. Heil. Schrift. N. T.*, 4te Ausg., Braunschweig, 1864, p. 543

‡ Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*. Freib., 1880, p. 30.

§ *Exposit. in Ps. cxviii.*, *Serm. ii. n. 7*, *ibid.* 36, *Præf.*

| *De doctrina*, III. 30.

a better shaping in the Latin church. He distinguishes four kinds of exegesis: (1) historical, (2) etiological, (3) analogical, (4) allegorical,* and lays down the principle that whatever cannot be referred to good conduct or truth of faith must be regarded as figurative.† Klausen gives a careful summary of the exegetical principles of Augustine. These are reproduced by Davidson, from whom we quote ‡ in a more condensed form:

"(1) The object of all interpretation is to express as accurately as possible the thoughts and meaning of an author. . . . (2) In the case of the Holy Scriptures, this is not attained by strictly insisting on each single expression by itself. . . . (3) On the contrary, we should endeavor to clear up the obscurity of such passages, and to remove their ambiguity—first, by close attention to the connexion before and after; next, by comparison with kindred places where the sense is more clearly and definitely given; and lastly, by a reference to the essential contents of Christian doctrine. (4) The interpreter of Holy Scripture must bring with him a Christian reverence for the divine word, and an humble disposition which subordinates preconceived opinions to whatever it perceives to be contained in the Word of God. . . . (5) Where the interpretation is insecure, notwithstanding the preceding measures, it must be assumed, that the matter lies beyond the circle of the essential truths belonging to the Christian faith. (6) It is irrational and dangerous for any one, whilst trusting in faith, and in the promises respecting the operations of the Holy Spirit on the mind, to despise the guidance and aid of science in the interpretation of Scripture."

The spirit that should actuate the interpreter is beautifully stated by Augustine:

"The man who fears God seeks diligently in Holy Scripture for a knowledge of His will. And when he has become meek through piety, so as to have no love of strife, when furnished also with a knowledge of language so as not to be stopped by unknown words and forms of speech, and with the knowledge of certain necessary ob-

* *De util. cred.*, c. 5.

† *De doctrina*, III. 15.

‡ Klausen in *l. c.*, p. 162, *seq.*; Davidson in *l. c.*, p. 133, *seq.*

jects, so as not to be ignorant of the force and nature of those which are used figuratively; and assisted, besides, by accuracy in the texts, which has been secured by skill and care in the matter of correction;—when thus prepared, let him proceed to the examination and solution of the ambiguities of Scripture.” *

We think that Klausen on the whole is justified, so far as the Latin church is concerned, in his statement that :

“None of the rest of the fathers, earlier or later, came near Augustine in the conception and statement of the essential character and conditions of the interpretation of Scripture. The truths which the Reformation in the sixteenth century again invoked into fruitful life, namely, of the relation of the sacred Scriptures to Christian doctrine, and of the scientific interpretation of the Scriptures, and which have become subsequently the foundations for the erection of evangelical dogmatics, may all be shown in the writings of Augustine, expressed in his clear, strong language.” †

This should, however, be qualified with the remark that Augustine's practice did not altogether accord with his precepts. He was dominated by the rule of faith ‡ and the authority of the church, as Irenæus and Tertullian had been; and he did not apprehend the essential Reformation principle of scriptural interpretation, namely, the analogy of faith *in* the Scriptures themselves. Augustine, in his practice, used too much of the *allegory*; and the Latin fathers followed his example rather than his precepts, and more and more gave themselves up to this method. Gregory the Great went to the greatest lengths in allegory.

Toward the close of the third century Lucius of Samosata established at Antioch a new exegetical school, which soon rose to a great power and influence, and pro-

* *De doctrina*, III. 1.

† *In l. c.*, p. 165.

‡ Diestel, *Gesch. d. Alt. Test. in d. Christ. Kirche*, Jena, 1869, p. 85; A. Dorset, *Augustinus sein theologisches System*, Berlin, 1873, p. 240, *seq.*

duced the greatest exegetes of the ancient church. Its fundamental principles are well stated by Kihn.* (1) Every passage has its literal meaning and only one meaning. We must, however, distinguish between plain and figurative language, and interpret each passage in accordance with its nature. (2) Alongside of the literal sense is the typical sense, which arises out of the relation of the old covenant to the new. It is based upon the literal sense which it presupposes. These are sound principles and are in accord with the usage of the New Testament.

"The Antiochans mediated between the two contrasted positions: a coarse, childish, literal sense, and an arbitrary allegorical interpretation; between the extremes of the Judaizers and Anthropomorphites on the one hand, and the Hellenistic Gnostics and Origenists on the other; and they paved the way for a sound biblical exegesis which remained influential for all coming time, if indeed not always prevalent." †

The Antiochan school, like all others, produced scholars of different tendencies. Some of them, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodorus of Tarsus, and Nestorius pressed historical and grammatical exegesis too far, to the neglect of the higher typical and mystical; but in Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Ephraim the Syrian, the principles of the school find expression in the noblest products of Christian exegesis, which served as the reservoir of supply for the feeble traditionalists of the middle ages; and are valued more and more in our own times. ‡

With the decline of the school of Antioch, its principles were maintained at Edessa and Nisibis, and thence gave an impulse to the Arabs and the Jewish exegesis of the middle ages, and thus in a roundabout way again

* In *l. c.*, p. 29.

† Kihn in *l. c.*, p. 29.

‡ Diestel in *l. c.*, pp. 135, 138.

influenced the church of the West at the Reformation. But an earlier influence may be traced in the reproduction of the work of Paul of Nisibis by *Junilius Africanus* in his *Institutes*.* The rules of Junilius are brief but excellent :

" (*Disciple*). What are those things which we ought to guard in the understanding of the sacred Scriptures? (*Master*). That those things which are said may agree with Him who says them ; that they should not be discrepant with the reasons for which they were said ; that they should accord with their times, places, order, and intention. (*Disciple*). How may we learn the intention of the divine doctrine? (*Master*). As the Lord Himself says, that we should love God with all our hearts and with all our souls and our neighbors as ourselves. But corruption of doctrine is, on the contrary, not to love God or the neighbor."†

The school of Nisibis influenced the Occident also through Cassiodorus, who wished to establish a corresponding theological school at Rome, but failed on account of the warlike times.‡ If this had been accomplished, the history of the middle age might have been very different. He introduced the methods of the school of Nisibis in his *Institutions*. This was an important text-book in the middle age and exerted a healthful influence. He urges to use the fathers as a Jacob's ladder by which to rise to the Scriptures themselves. He insists upon the comparison of Scripture with Scripture, and points out that frequent and intense meditation is the way to a true understanding of them.§

Jerome seems to have occupied an intermediate and not altogether consistent position. He strives for historical and grammatical exposition, yet it is easy to see

* *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*.

† Kihn in *l. c.*, p. 326.

‡ Kihn in *l. c.*, p. 210.

§ Kihn in *l. c.*, pp. 211-212; *Praef. de Instit. div. litt.*, Migne, T. 70, p. 1205, seq.

that at the bottom he is more inclined to the allegorical method. He lays down no principles of exegesis, but scattered through his writings one finds numerous wise remarks :

"The sacred Scripture cannot contradict itself." * "Whoever interprets the gospel in a different spirit from that in which it was written, confuses the faithful and distorts the gospel of Christ." † "The gospel consists not in the words of Scripture but in the sense, not in the surface but in the marrow, not in the leaves of the words but in the roots of the thought." ‡

Thus there grew up in the ancient church three great exegetical tendencies: the literal and traditional, the allegorical and mystical, the historical and ethical, and these three struggled with one another and became more and more interwoven, in the best of the fathers, but took on all sorts of abnormal forms of exegesis in others.

In the middle age the vital Christian spirit was more and more suppressed, and ecclesiastical authority assumed the place of learning. The *traditional* principle of exegesis became more and more dominant and alongside of this the allegorical method was found to be the most convenient for reconciling Scripture with tradition. The literal and the historical sense was almost entirely ignored. The fourfold sense became fixed, as expressed in the saying: the literal sense teaches what has been done, the allegorical what to believe, the moral what to do, the anagogical whither we are tending.§

In the middle age exegesis consisted chiefly in the reproduction of the expositions of the fathers, in collections and compilations, called epitomes, glosses, postilles, chains. In the Oriental church the chief of these com

* *Epist. ad Marcellam.*

† *Epist. ad Gal. i. 6.*

‡ *Epist. ad Gal. i. 11.*

§ *Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, moralis quid agas, quo tendas Anagogia.*

pillers were : Oecumenius († 999), Theophylact († 1007), and Euthymius Zigabenus († 1118). These contain chiefly the exegesis of Chrysostom, Theodoret, and the Antiochan school. In the Occidental church, there is more independence and greater use of the allegory. The chief Latin expositors of the middle age are, Beda († 735), Alcuin († 804), Walafrid Strabo († 849), Rhabanus Maurus († 856), Peter Lombard († 1164), Thomas Aquinas († 1274),* Hugo de St. Caro († 1260). The only exegete of the middle age who shows any acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is the converted Jew, Nicolaus de Lyra († 1340). He seems to have apprehended better than any previous writer the proper exegetical method, but could only partly put it in practice. He was doubtless influenced greatly by the grammatical exegesis of the Jews of the middle age, from Saadia's school, and especially by Raschi.† He wrote postilles on the entire Bible. He mentions the four senses of Scripture and then says :

"All of them presuppose the literal sense as the foundation. As a building, declining from the foundation, is likely to fall, so the mystic exposition, which deviates from the literal sense, must be reckoned unbecoming and unsuitable."

And yet he adds :

"I protest, I intend to say nothing either in the way of assertion or determination, except in relation to such things as have been clearly settled by Holy Scripture on the authority of the church. All besides must be taken as spoken scholastically and by way of exer-

* His *Catena Aurea* on the Gospels have been translated by Pusey, Keble, and Newman, 6 vols., Oxford, 1870; and may be consulted as the most accessible specimen of the interpretation of the middle age.

† See Siegfried, *Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolaus von Lira und Luther in der Auslegung der Genesis*, in *Merx, Archiv*, I., p. 428, *seq.*; II., p. 39, *seq.*

cise; for which reason, I submit all I have said, and aim to say, to the correction of our holy mother the church."*

In such bondage to the infallible church, it is astonishing that he accomplished so much. He exerted a healthful, reviving influence in biblical study and in a measure prepared for the Reformation. There is truth in the saying, "If Lyra had not piped, Luther would not have danced."† Luther thought highly of Lyra, and yet Luther really started from a principle entirely different from the literal sense. For this he was rather prepared by Wicklif and Huss. Wicklif was a contemporary of Lyra, and opposed the abuse of the allegorical method from the spiritual side, and in contrast with Lyra recognized the authority of the Scriptures as above the authority of the church. He makes the all-important statement which was not allowed to die, but became the Puritan watchword in subsequent times: "The Holy Spirit teaches us the sense of Scripture as Christ opened the Scriptures to His apostles."‡ Huss and Jerome of Prague followed Wicklif in this respect.§

With reference to the interpretation of the middle age as a whole, the remarks of Immer are appropriate: |

"It lacks the most essential qualification to scriptural interpretation, linguistic knowledge, and historical perception. . . . This defect inheres in the mediæval period in general. Hence there could be no advance in interpretation. But what it could do it did: it collected and preserved; and what was thus preserved waited for new fructifying elements, which were to be introduced in the second half of the fifteenth century."

* *Postillas perpetuas, seu brevia commentaria in Universas Biblias*, prol. ii., Davidson in *l. c.*, p. 175. *seq.*

† *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.*

‡ Lechler, Johann von Wiclif, Leipzig, 1873, I., p. 483, *seq.*; Lorimer's edition, London, 1878, II., p. 29, *seq.*

§ Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, Boston, 1864, 2d ed., I., p. 295, *seq.*

| In *l. c.*, p. 37.

The mediæval exegesis reached its culmination at the Council of Trent, where Roman Catholic interpretation was chained forever in the fourfold fetters: that it must be conformed to the rule of faith, the practice of the church, the consent of the fathers, and the decisions of the councils. But the seeds of a new exegesis had been planted by Lyra and Wicklif which burst forth into fruitful life in the Protestant Reformation.

V. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE REFORMERS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

The Reformation was accompanied by a great revival of Biblical Study in all directions, but especially in the interpretation of the Scriptures. The Humanists were influenced, by their studies of the Greek and Hebrew languages and literatures, to apply this new learning to the study of the Bible. Erasmus is the acknowledged chief of interpreters of this class. He insisted that the interpretation of the Scriptures should be in accordance with the original Greek and Hebrew texts, and urged the giving of the grammatical and literal sense over against the allegorical sense, which had been the ally of tradition.* The Humanists, however, did not go to the root of the evil; they were too deferential to the authority of the Church, and sought to correct the errors in exegesis by purely scholarly methods. The Reformers, however, revived the principle of Wicklif and Huss, strengthened it, and made it invincible. They urged the one literal sense against the fourfold sense, but they still more insisted that Scripture should be its own interpreter, and that it was not to be interpreted by tradition or external ecclesiastical authority. Thus, Luther says:

* Klausen in *L. c.*, p. 227.

"Every word should be allowed to stand in its natural meaning and that should not be abandoned unless faith forces us to it."*
 "It is the attribute of Holy Scripture that it interprets itself by passages and places which belong together, and can only be understood by the rule of faith."†

Tyndale says :

"Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the Scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do ; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently : as in the English we borrow words and sentences of one thing, and apply them unto another, and give them new significations." "Beyond all this, when we have found out the literal sense of the Scripture by the process of the text, or by a like text of another place, then go we ; and as the Scripture borroweth similitudes of worldly things, even so we again borrow similitudes or allegories of the Scripture, and apply them to our purposes ; which allegories are no sense of the Scripture, but free things besides the Scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the Spirit." "Finally, all God's words are spiritual, if thou have eyes of God, to see the right meaning of the text, and whereunto the Scripture pertaineth, and the final end and cause thereof."‡

The view of the Reformed churches is expressed in the 2d Helvetic Confession (ii. 1) :

"We acknowledge that interpretation of Scripture for authentical and proper, which being taken from the Scriptures themselves (that is, from the phrase of that tongue in which they were written, they being also wayed according to the circumstances and expounded according to the proportion of places, either like or unlike, or of

* Walch, xix., p. 1601.

† Walch, iii., p. 2042.

‡ *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, 1528 ; Parker edition, *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 307, seq.

more and plainer), accordeth with the rule of faith and charity, and maketh notably for God's glory and man's salvation." *

The Reformers produced masterpieces of exegesis by these principles, and set the Bible in a new light before the world. Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin especially were great exegetes;† Bullinger (†1575), Oecolampadius (†1531), Melancthon, Musculus (†1563), were worthy to stand by their side. Their immediate successors had somewhat of their spirit, although the sectarian element already influences them in the maintenance of the peculiarities of the different churches. The Hermeneutical principles of the Lutherans are well stated by Matth. Flacius;‡ those of the Reformed by And. Rivetus.§ The weakness of the Reformation principle was in the lack of clear definition of what was meant by the analogy or rule of faith. It is clear that the Reformers set the rule of faith in the Scriptures themselves,—in the substance of doctrine apprehended by faith. But when it came to define what that substance was, there was difficulty. Hence, so soon as the faith of the church was expressed in symbols, these were at first unconsciously, and at last avowedly, identified with this Scripture rule of faith. The Lutheran scholastic Gerhard says:

"From these plain passages of Scripture the rule of faith is collected, which is the sum of the celestial doctrine collected from the most evident passages of Scripture. Its parts are two—the former concerning faith, whose chief precepts are expressed in the apostles' creed; the latter concerning love, the sum of which the decalogue explains." |

* We give the English version of *Harmony of the Confessions*, London, 1643, on account of its historical relations.

† Klausen in *L. c.*, p. 223; also, p. 112.

‡ *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*, Antwerp, 1567; Basilee, 1609. Best edition, ed. Musæus, 1675.

§ *Isagoge*, 1627.

| Gerhard, *Loc.*, Tübingæ, 1767, Tom. I., p. 53.

Hollazius* defines the analogy of faith: "the fundamental articles of faith, or the principal chapters of the Christian faith collected from the clearest testimonies of the Scriptures." Carpzov† makes it: "the system of Scripture doctrine in its order and connection."

If this system of doctrine had been that found in the Scriptures themselves, in accordance with the modern discipline of Biblical Theology,‡ there would have been some propriety in the definition; but inasmuch as the scholastic theologians proposed to express that system of doctrine in their theological commonplaces, in other methods and forms than those presented in the Scriptures, practically the rule or analogy of faith became these theological systems, and so an external rule was substituted for the internal rule of the Scriptures themselves; the Reformation principle was more and more abandoned; and the Jewish Halacha, and the mediæval scholastic re-entered, and took possession of Protestant exegesis.§

The Reformed church was slower in attaining this result than the Lutheran church, owing to the exegetical spirit that had come down from Oecolampadius, Calvin, and Zwingli; but already Beza leads off in the wrong direction; and notwithstanding the great stress laid upon literal and grammatical exegesis by Cappellus and the school of Saumur in France; by Drusius, De Dieu, and Dan. Heinsius in Holland; the drift was in the scholastic direction; and when the Swiss churches arrayed themselves against the French exegetes; and the churches of Holland were divided by the Arminian controversy, and the historical and literal exegesis came to characterize

* *Exam. Theologicæ Acroasmaticæ*, 1741, Holmiae, p. 1777.

† *Prima Lineæ Herm.* Helmstad., 1790, p. 28.

‡ See Chap. XI.

§ Volk, in Zöckler, *Handb. Theo. Wiss.*, p. 657; Klamm in *l. c.*, p. 254.

more and more the latter; the scholastic divines more and more employed the dogmatic method, and urged to interpret in accordance with the external rule of faith.

VI. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PURITANS, AND THE ARMINIANS.

British Puritanism remained true to the Reformation principle of interpretation till the close of the seventeenth century. The views of Tyndale and the Puritans went deeper into the essence of the matter than those of the continental reformers. This was doubtless owing to the fact of their conflict against ecclesiastical authority and the prelatical party, and their protests against the obtrusion of Popish ceremonies on the Christians of England. They urged more and more the principle of the Scriptures *alone* as the rule of the church, and made the *jus divinum* the supreme appeal. Thus Thomas Cartwright:

"Scripture alone being able and sufficient to make us wise to salvation, we need no unwritten verities, no traditions of men, no canons of councils, or sentences of fathers, much less decrees of popes, to supply any supposed defect of the written word, or to give us a more perfect direction in the way of life, then is already set down expressly in the canonically Scriptures. . . . They are of divine authority. They are the rule, the line, the squyre and light, whereby to examine and trie all judgements and sayings of men, and of angels, whether they be such as God approveth, yea or no; and they are not to be judged or sentenced by any."*

Especially noteworthy is the statement that no external rule is to be used to supply any supposed defects of the written word, and that plain direction is given by what is set down expressly in the Scripture.

* *Treatise of Christian Religion*, 1626, p. 78.

John Ball* gives an admirable statement of the Puritan position :

"The expounding of the Scriptures is commanded by God, and practiced by the godly, profitable both for the unfolding of obscure places, and applying of plaine texts. It stands in two things. (1) In giving the right sense. (2) In a fit application of the same. Of one place of Scripture, there is but one proper and naturall sense, though sometimes things are so expressed, as that the things themselves doe signifie other things, according to the Lord's ordinance: Gal. iv. 22, 23, 24; Ex. xii. 46, with John xix. 36; Ps. ii. 1, with Acts iv. 24, 25, 26. We are not tyed to the expositions of the Fathers or counsels for the finding out the sense of the Scripture, the Holy Ghost speaking in the Scripture, is the only faithful interpreter of the Scripture. The meanes to find out the true meaning of the Scripture, are conference of one place of Scripture with another, diligent consideration of the scope and circumstances of the place, as the occasions, and coherence of that which went before, with that which followeth after; the matter whereof it doth intreat, and circumstances of persons, times and places, and consideration, whether the words are spoken figuratively or simply; for in figurative speeches, not the outward shew of words, but the sense is to be taken, and knowledge of the arts and tongues wherein the Scriptures were originally written. But alwayes it is to bee observed, that obscure places are not to bee expounded contrary to the rule of faith set downe in plainer places of the Scripture."

The analogy or rule of faith is expressly defined by him as "set downe in plainer places of the Scripture," and it is maintained that "the Holy Ghost speaking in the Scripture is the only faithful interpreter of Scripture." This improvement of the Protestant principle by lifting it to the person of the Holy Spirit speaking in the word to the believer, prevents any substitution of an external symbol or system of theology for the rule of

* *Short Treatise containing all the principall Grounds of Christian Religion*
Tenth Impression. London, 1635. p. 39.

faith of the Scriptures themselves. Archbishop Usher takes the same position as Ball: *

"The Spirit of God alone is the certain interpreter of His word written by His Spirit. For no man knoweth the things pertaining to God, but the Spirit of God (I. Cor. ii. 11). . . . The interpretation therefore must be of the same Spirit by which the Scripture was written; of which Spirit we have no certainty upon any man's credit, but onely so far forth as his saying may be confirmed by the Holy Scriptures. . . . *How then is the Scripture to be interpreted by Scripture?* According to the analogy of faith (Rom. xii. 6), and the scope and circumstance of the present place, and conference of other plain and evident places, by which all such as are obscure and hard to be understood ought to be interpreted, for there is no matter necessary to eternal life, which is not plainly, and sufficiently set forth in many places of Scripture."

These extracts from the Puritan fathers, who chiefly influenced the Westminster divines, will enable us to understand the principles of interpretation laid down in the Westminster Confession (I. 9-10), which are in advance of all the symbols of the Reformation in this particular:

"The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly" (§ 9).

"The supreme judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit, speaking in the Scripture" (§ 10).

These principles of interpretation give the death-blow to the manifold sense, and also to any external analogy of faith for the interpretation of Scripture. It has been

* *Body of Divinitie*, London, 1633. Fourth Edit., London, 1652, pp. 26, 25.

made contra-confessional in those churches which adopt the Westminster symbols to believe and teach any but the *one* true and full sense of any Scripture, or to appeal to "doctrines of men," or any external rule or analogy of faith, or to make any other but the Holy Spirit Himself the supreme interpreter of Scripture to the believer and the church. It was not without good and sufficient reasons that the Westminster divines substituted the "Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture" for the analogy of faith which had been so much abused, and which was to be still more abused by the descendants of the Puritans, after they had forgotten their Puritan fathers, and resorted to the Swiss and Dutch scholastics for theological instruction.

Edward Leigh (a lawyer and member of the Long Parliament, and said to have been a lay member of the Westminster Assembly,) clearly states the Puritan position* in his chapter on the Interpretation of Scripture:

"The Holy Ghost is the judge, and the Scripture is the sentence or definitive decree. We acknowledge no publick judge except the Scripture, and the Holy Ghost teaching us in the Scripture, He that made the law should interpret the same." . . . "The Papist says, that the Scripture ought to be expounded by the rule of faith, and therefore not by Scripture only. But the rule of faith and Scripture is all one. As the Scriptures are not of man, but of the Spirit, so their interpretation is not by man, but of the Spirit likewise." †

We shall call attention to some other features of the interpretation of the seventeenth century in England, because it has been neglected by British and American

* *Systeme, or Body of Divinity*. London, 1654, pp. 107, 119.

† Thomas Watson, in his *Body of Practical Divinity*, in exposition of the Westminster Shorter Catechism, London, 1692, p. 16, takes the same position: "The Scripture is to be its own interpreter, or rather the Spirit speaking in it; nothing can cut the diamond but the diamond; nothing can interpret Scripture but Scripture; the sun best discovers itself by its own beams."

scholars, and consequently also by German critics and historians, upon whom many of our modern Anglo-Saxon interpreters depend, conservative and progressive alike.

Henry Ainsworth says :

"I have chiefly laboured in these annotations upon Moses, to explain his words and speech by conference with himself, and other prophets and apostles, all which are commenters upon his lawes, and do open unto us the mysteries which were covered under his veile ; for by a true and sound literall explication, the spiritual meaning may be the better discerned. And the exquisite scanning of words and phrases, which to some may seeme needlesse, will be found (as painful to the writer) profitable to the reader." *

Francis Taylor, a Westminster divine, a great Hebrew scholar and Talmudist, author of many commentaries and other practical and theological works, says :†

"The method used by me is new, and never formerly exactly followed in every verse, by any writer, Protestant or Papist, that ever I read. (1) Ye have the grammatical sense in the various significations of every Hebrew word used throughout the Old Testament, which gives light to many other texts ; (2) Ye have the rhetorical sense, in the tropes and figures ; (3) The logicall, in the several arguments ; (4) The theological in divine observations."

This is an exact and admirable method which would have delighted Ernesti in the next century, if he had known of it, with the exception of the last point in which the Puritan practical interpretation comes in play. Edward Leigh ‡ also lays down excellent principles :

"The word is interpreted aright, by declaring (1) the order, (2) the summe or scope, (3) the sense of the words, which is done by framing a rhetorical and logical analysis of the text. In giving the sense, three rules are of principal use and necessity to be observed.

* *Pentateuch*, Preface, 1626.

† Epist. dedicatory to the *Exposition of the Proverbs*. London, 1655.

‡ In *l. c.*, p. 119.

(1) The literal and largest sense of any words in Scripture must not be embraced further when our cleaving thereto would breed some disagreement and contrariety between the present Scripture, and some other text or place, else shall we change the Scripture into a nose of wax. (2) In case of such appearing disagreement, the Holy Ghost leads us by the hand to seek out some distinction, restriction, limitation or sign for the reconciliation thereof, and one of these will always fit the purpose; for God's word must always bring perfect truth, it cannot fight against itself. (3) Such figurative sense, limitation, restriction or distinction must be sought out, as the word of God affordeth either in the present place or some other; and chiefly those that seem to differ with the present text, being duly compared together."

We do not know where a more careful statement, of this delicate problem of harmonizing Scripture with Scripture, can be found.*

The Puritan interpreters laid stress upon the practical interpretation, or application of Scripture. The best statement is found in the *Key of the Bible*, by Francis Roberts, 4th edition, London, 1675, p. 5, seq.:

"That the Holy Scriptures may be more profitably and clearly understood, certain rules or directions are to be observed and followed:

"I. Some more *special and peculiar*, more particularly concerning scholars. As (1) The competent understanding of the original lan-

* This same Edward Leigh was one of the best Biblical scholars of the seventeenth century. He published *Annotations upon all the New Testament*, philologically and Theologically wherein the emphasis and elegance of the Greeke is observed, some imperfections in our translation are discovered, divers Jewish rites and customes tending to illustrate the text are mentioned, many antilogies and seeming contradictions reconciled, severall darke and obscure places opened, sundry passages vindicated from the false glosses of Papists and Hereticks. London, 1630, folio. The title is descriptive of a sound method. He also published *Critica Sacra on the Hebrew of the Old Testament*. 4to, London, 1639. *Critica Sacra on the Greek of the New Testament*. 4to, London, 1646. These were combined in a folio, 1662. They were translated into Latin by Henry Middeloch and published at Amsterdam, 1679, and then at Leipzig, 1696, with Preface by John Meyer, a Hebrew Professor there, and in this way exerted a great influence on the continent until the close of the century.

guages. . . . (2) The prudent use of Logick. . . . (3) The subservient help of other arts, as Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy, etc. . . . (4) The benefit of humane histories to illustrate and clear the theme. (5) The conferring of ancient translations with the originals. . . . (6) The prudent use of the most orthodox, learned, and judicious Commentators. (7) Constant caution that all tongues, arts, histories, translations, and comments be duly ranked in their proper places in subserviency under, not in regency or predominancy over the Holy Scriptures which are to controule them all."

"II. Some more general and common directions, which may be of use to all sorts of Christians learned and unlearned. . . . (1) Beg wisdom of the only wise God, who gives liberally and upbraids not. . . . (2) Labour sincerely after a truly gracious spirit, then thou shalt be peculiarly able to penetrate into the internal marrow and mysteries of the holy Scriptures. . . . (3) Peruse the Scripture with an humble self-denying heart. . . . (4) Familiarize the Scripture to thyself by constant and methodical exercise therein. . . . (5) Understand Scripture according to the theological analogy, or certain rule of faith and love. . . . (6) Be well acquainted with the order, titles, times, penman, occasion, scope, and principal parts of the books, both of the Old and New Testament. (7) Heedfully and judiciously observe the accurate concord and harmony of the Holy Scriptures. (8) Learn the excellent art of explaining and understanding the Scriptures, by the Scriptures. (9) Endeavor sincerely to practice Scripture, and you shall solidly understand Scripture."

We have given these rules at length, both on account of their intrinsic excellence and also to call attention to a work of great value which has been lost sight of for a long time in the history of interpretation.

This same Francis Roberts,—who was a Presbyterian minister of London during the Commonwealth period, and at the restoration remained with the Established church,—is the author of a massive work in two folio volumes, which construct a system of theology on the doctrine of the covenants.*

* *The Mysteries and Marrow of the Bible: viz., God's Covenants with man in the first Adam, before the Fall; and in the last Adam, Jesus Christ, af-*

In his epistolary introduction he says: "I began my weekly lectures, to treat of God's Covenants, on Sept. 2, 1651, and have persisted therein till the very publication of this book, in May, 1657."

In the same introduction he describes his treatise as

"A Work of vast extent, comprising in it : all the methods of divine dispensations to the Church in all ages ; all the conditions of the Church under those dispensations ; all the greatest and precious promises, of the life that now is, and of that which is to come ; all sorts of blessings promised by God to man ; all sorts of duties re-promised by man to God ; all the gradual discoveries of Jesus Christ, the only Mediator and Saviour of sinners ; the whole mystery of all true religion from the beginning to the end of the world ; and which as a continued thred of gold runs through the whole series of all the Holy Scriptures, . . . because I have set my heart exceedingly to the Covenants of my God, which (in my judgment) are an universal basis or foundation of all true religion and happiness, I have shunned no diligence, industry, or endeavor that to me seemed requisite for the profitable unveiling of them."

Francis Roberts in this work carries out a plan devised and partially executed by John Ball.* According to Thomas Blake,† "his purpose was to speak on this subject of the covenant, all that he had to say in all the whole body of divinity. That which he hath left behind gives us a taste of it." In this Ball anticipated Cocceius and the Dutch Federal theology, as indeed his system of the covenants is of a purer type, having all the advantages of the historical method of the Dutch Federal school without its far-fetched typologies. Indeed the

the Fall ; from the Beginning to the End of the World ; Unfolded and Illustrated in positive Aphorisms and their Explanations. 2 vols., London, 1657.

* *Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, London, 1645, 4to, published after his death by his friend Simeon Ashe, and with commendatory notices by five other Westminster divines.

† *Treatise of the Covenant of God entered with mankinde in the severall bindes and degrees of it.* Preface, London, 1653.

theology of the covenants had been embedded in Puritan theology since Thomas Cartwright.* The covenant principle is also in Usher's Body of Divinity, and the Westminster symbols. In truth, the historical principle that characterizes the covenant theology is better wrought out by John Ball and Francis Roberts than by Cocceius. It will be found that the doctrine of the covenants passed over from England with the Puritan spirit into Holland, into the Federal school, and thence into Spener and the German Pietists. The essential mystic spirit is common to these three great movements which were the historic successors of one another in the order, England, Holland, Germany, although each assumed a form adapted to its peculiar circumstances and conditions.†

The Federal school in Holland was characterized by a tendency to allegorize, which was foreign to the best Puritan type, although Thomas Brightman, in his Commentaries on Revelation, Song of Songs, and Daniel, reintroduced the allegorical method into the Protestant church and carried it to great lengths. He had not a few followers in Great Britain, and on the continent where his works were republished.

This element is united with the principle of the covenant in the Federal theology, and proved its greatest weakness. The Federal theology, however, exerted a wholesome influence in preserving the mystic spirit of interpretation over against the purely external historical method of the Arminians; and in maintaining the historic method of divine revelation over against the exter-

* In his *Treatise of Christian Religion*, 1616, he treats first of the doctrine of God and then of man; next of the Word of God, and this he divides into two parts: the doctrine of the Covenant of Works, called the law, the Covenant of Grace, the gospel; and treats of Christology and Soteriology under the latter.

† Cocceius was a pupil of Ames, the British Puritan. See Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, London, 1883, p. 344, *seq.*

nal and mechanical systematizing of the Dutch scholastics. Spener and the German Pietists also represented the mystic spirit of interpretation and adopted many of the chief features of Puritanism. They laid stress upon personal relations to God and experimental piety in order to the interpretation of Scripture. This was accompanied among the best of them with true scholarship. The Pietistic interpretation may be found stated by Franke,* but especially by Rambach,† whose work was fruitful for many generations and still retains its value. The best exegete in this direction is the celebrated Bengel, whose interpretation is a model of piety and accuracy.‡ His principle of interpretation is briefly stated: "It is the especial office of every interpretation to exhibit adequately the force and significance of the words which the text contains, so as to express everything which the author intended, and to introduce nothing which he did not intend" (xiv. Preface).

The principles of interpretation of the Puritans worked mightily during the seventeenth century in Great Britain, and produced exegetical works that ought to be the pride of the Anglo-Saxon churches in all time. Thomas Cartwright, Henry Ainsworth, John Reynolds, John Fox, Nicholas Byfield, Paul Bayne, Hugh Broughton, J. Davenant, Francis Taylor, William Gouge, John Lightfoot, Edward Leigh, Wm. Attersol, Thos. Gataker, Joseph Caryl, Samuel Clark, John Trapp, William Greenhill, Francis Roberts, and numerous others have opened up the meaning of the Word of God for all generations. Among the last of the Puritan works on the more learned

* *Manducatio ad lectionem*, S.S. 1693; *Praelectiones Hermeneut.*, 1717.

† *Institutiones Hermeneuticae*, 1723, 8th edit., Jenae, 1764, ed. Buddeus.

‡ *Gnomon*, N. T., Tübingen, 1742, English edition by T. Carlton Lewis and Marvin R. Vincent, Philadelphia, 1860-62.

side was the *Synopsis Criticorum* of Matthew Poole; but the more practical side of interpretation continued to advance until it attained its highest mark in Matthew Henry.* Other practical commentaries have been of great service to the churches, such as those of Ph. Doddridge† and Thomas Scott,‡ but the Puritan interpretation soon lost its strength by the neglect of theological education. Excluded from the universities by their religious principles, the non-conformists were unable to organize educational institutions of their own that were at all adequate, and hence the ministry fell back upon dogmatizing or spiritualizing, equally perilous, without an exact knowledge of the Biblical text.§

In the meanwhile, the Humanistic spirit had maintained itself in the Prelatical party in the church of England and found expression among the Arminians of Holland. The chief interpreter of the seventeenth century, who revived the spirit of Erasmus, was Hugo Grotius. He laid stress upon historical interpretation.¶ He was followed by the Arminians generally, especially Clericus. In Great Britain Henry Hammond had the same spirit and methods.¶ Edward Pocock** also seeks as the main thing "to settle the genuine and literal mean-

* *Expositions of the Old and New Testaments*, London, 1704-6.

† *Family Expositor*. 6 vols. 4to, London, 1760-62.

‡ *Family Bible, with notes*. 4 vols. 4to, 1796.

§ It is the merit of C. H. Spurgeon that he has recently called attention to the neglected Puritan commentators and expressed his great obligations to them. See his *Commenting and Commentaries*, N. Y., 1876, and also *Treasury of David*, London, 6 vols., 1870, seq., which contains copious extracts from the Puritan commentaries.

| *Annotations in lib. evang.*, Amst., 1641; *Annot. in Vet. Test.*, Paris, 1664.

¶ *Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the books of the New Testament*, 1653, 8vo, 3d edition, folio, London, 1671. In a Postscript concerning new light or divine illumination, over against the Quakers, he insisted upon the plain, literal, and historical sense.

** *Com. on Micah*, 1677, *Moses*, 1685, *Joel*, 1691.

ing of the text." Dan. Whitby* also represents this tendency; and still later Bishop Lowth (see p. 203) and John Taylor of Norwich.† The latter says:

"To understand the sense of the Spirit in the New, 'tis essentially necessary that we understand its sense in the Old Testament. But the sense of the Spirit cannot be understood unless we understand the language in which that sense is conveyed. For which purpose the Hebrew Concordance is the best Expositor. For there you have in one view presented all the places of the sacred code where any words are used; and by carefully collating those places, may judge what sense it will, or will not bear, which being once settled there lies no appeal to any other writing in the world: because there are no other books in all the world in the pure original Hebrew, but the books of the Old Testament. A judgment therefore duly founded upon them must be absolutely decisive." ‡

Taylor acknowledges his great indebtedness to the philosopher Locke,§ and shows the influence of that philosophy in his exegesis. Toward the close of the century Biblical interpretation more and more declined in Great Britain, and we must go to the continent and especially to Germany for the exegesis as well as the higher and lower criticism of modern times.]

VII. BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION OF MODERN TIMES.

We have seen in our studies of Biblical literature that there was a great revival of Biblical studies, especially in Germany toward the close of the eighteenth century, which extended to all departments. For Biblical interpretation Ernesti was the chief of the new era. Ernesti was essentially a philologist rather than a

* *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*. 2 vols., 1703-9, folio.

† *Hebrew Concordance*, 2 vols. folio, London, 1754.

‡ Preface of *Hebrew Concordance*. See also his *Paraphrase with notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, London, 1745, pp. 114, 127, 146.

§ In *J. c.*, p. 140.

] See pp. 149, 206, 227.

theologian, and he applied to the Bible the principles which he had employed in the interpretation of the ancient classics. He began at the foundation of interpretation, grammatical exegesis, and placed it in such a position before the world that it has ever since maintained its fundamental importance. He published his principles of interpretation in 1761.* Ernesti was followed by Zacharia,† Morus,‡ C. D. Beck,§ and others. Moses Stuart translated Ernesti with the notes of Morus abridged.]

About the same time as Ernesti, Semler urged the importance of historical interpretation.¶ Semler was an open-minded, devout scholar, and appropriated freely the material wherever he could find it, and reproduced it in forms fashioned by his own genius. He was greatly influenced by foreign interpreters and was the channel through whom the historical interpretation, still lingering in Reformed lands, made its way into Lutheran Germany. Among those who influenced Semler may be mentioned: J. A. Turretine, who had introduced the Swiss revolt against scholasticism,** John Taylor of Nor-

* *Institutio Interpretis N. T.* 1761, 3te Auf., 1774; 5te Aufl. ed. Ammon, 1809. It was translated into English and edited by Bishop Terrot in 1809 from Ammon's edition, for the *Biblical Cabinet*, I. and IV., Edinburg.

† *Einleit. in d. Auslegungskunst*, 1778.

‡ *Acroases. acad. super Herm.*, N. T. 1797 and 1802, ed. by Eichstädt.

§ *Monogram. hermeneutices librorum N. Foed.*, Lips., 1803.

¶ *Elementary Principles of Interpretation*, translated from the Latin of J. A. Ernesti, accompanied by notes, with an appendix containing extracts from Morus, Beck, Keil, and Henderson. 4th edit., Andover, 1842. The earlier edition was republished in England with additional observations by Dr. Henderson, London, 1827, which were used in Stuart's fourth edition.

¶ *Vorbereit. zur theol. Herm.*, 1760-69; *Apparatus ad liberalem, N. T. Interpret.*, 1767.

** *De S. S. interp. tractatus bipartitus*, 1728. This was an unauthorized and defective edition and it was repudiated by the author. A better edition was edited by Teller in 1776.

wich and Daniel Whitby,* and L. Meyer, the Spinozist.† Semler was followed by J. G. Gabler, G. L. Baur, K. C. Bretschneider, and others.

These elements of interpretation were combined in the grammatico-historical method of C. A. G. Keil.‡ The grammatico-historical method was introduced into the United States of America chiefly by Moses Stuart and his school.

The defects of the grammatico-historical method were discovered and attacks were made upon it from both sides. Kant and his school urged rational and moral exegesis, to which the historical must yield as of vastly less importance. There was truth in this rising to the moral sense, but as it was stated and used by the Kantians it resulted in binding the Bible in the fetters of a philosophical system that was far more oppressive than the theological system had been. Stäudlein,§ Stern,|| Stark,¶ and Kaiser,** and above all Germar,†† rendered great service by urging that the interpreter should enter into sympathy with the spirit of the Biblical authors.

On the other side the little band of Pietists of the older Tübingen school urged the inadequacy of the grammatico-historical method and insisted upon faith and piety in the interpreter.‡‡ The chief of these were Storr,§§ Flatt and Steudel of Tübingen, Knapp of Halle, and Seiler of Erlangen.||

* See p. 346, also Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, Hamburg, 1839, pp. 30, 40.

† Author of an anonymous treatise: *Philosophie Script. interpres.*, 1666.

‡ *Lehr. d. Herm.*, 1810.

§ *De interp. N. T.*, 1807.

|| *Ueber den Begriff und obersten Grundsatz d. hist. interp. d. N. T.*, 1815.

¶ *Beitr. z. Herm.*, 1817.

** *System Herm.*, 1817.

†† *Beitrag zur allgemein. Hermeneutik*, Altona, 1828.

‡‡ Reuss, *Gesch. d. H. S. N. T.*, 4te Aufl., 1864, p. 582, seq.

§§ *De sensu historico*, 1778.

|| *Bib. Herm.*, 1880, edited in Holland by Heringa; and translated from the Holland edition and edited with additions by Wm. Wright, London, 1835.

This conflict of principles worked more and more confusion. If the older exegesis was at fault in neglecting the human element and the variety of features of the Bible on the human side; the newer interpreters of the grammatico-historical school were still more at fault in neglecting the divine element and the unity of the Bible.

A healthful method of interpretation had been introduced from England in the translation of the works of Bishop Lowth, which urged literary interpretation. Herder, Eichhorn, and others exerted their influence in the same direction. Schleiermacher deserves the credit for combining all that had thus far been gained into a higher unity, by his organic method of interpretation.*

Schleiermacher lays down his principles in a series of theses :

"In the application (of Hermeneutics) to the New Testament the philological view, which isolates every writing of every author, stands over against the dogmatic view, which regards the N. T. as the work of one author. Both approach one another when one considers that, in the view of the religious contents, the identity of the school comes in, and in the view of the details, the identity of language. . . . The philological view lags behind its own principle when it rejects the general dependence for the sake of the individual culture. The dogmatic view transcends its needs when it rejects individual culture for the sake of dependence, and so destroys itself. The only question that remains, is, which of the two is to be placed above the other; and this must be decided by the philological view itself in favor of its own dependence. When the philological view ignores this it annihilates Christianity. When the dogmatic view extends the canon of the analogy of faith beyond these limits it annihilates Scripture."†

Lücke, of Schleiermacher's school, well states the principle when he says that we must

* His *Hermeneutik und Kritik* is a posthumous work by his pupil, F. Lücke, published Berlin, 1838, but the influence of his method was felt at an earlier date, and expressed by his disciples.

† In *I. c.*, pp. 79-81.

"so construct the general principles of Hermeneutics as that the proper theological element may be united with them in a really organic manner, and likewise so fashion and carry on the theological element that the general principles of interpretation may maintain their full value." *

He also insisted upon love for the Word of God, as the indispensable requisite for the interpreter.†

The vast importance of this organic method is seen in the exegetical works of De Wette, Neander, Klausen, Bleek, Lutz, Meyer, and indeed the chief interpreters of modern Germany.

The greatest defect of interpretation at this time was in the lack of apprehension of the true relation of the New Testament to the Old Testament. The Old Testament was neglected by Schleiermacher and many of his school. It was necessary for the discipline of Biblical theology to be developed ere this defect could be overcome. The unfolding of the discipline of Biblical theology in the school of Neander has established the organic unity of the New Testament in the combination of a number of historical types; the organic unity of the Old Testament has also been especially urged by Oehler in the spirit of Neander, together with some of the features of the older Tübingen school. The organic unity of the whole Bible has been especially insisted upon by Hofmann of Erlangen, Delitzsch, and others of their school. This is a further unfolding of the organic principle of Schleiermacher, and the revival in another form of the Puritan principle wrapt up in the covenant theology, and which has worked through the schools of Cocceius and the Pietists, to attach itself to the scientific principles of

* *Studien und Krit.*, 1830, p. 421; see also his *Grundriss d. N. T. Herm.*, 1817.

† See Klausen in *l. c.*, p. 311; Immer in *l. c.*, p. 66; Reuss in *l. c.*, p. 609.

exegesis that have thus far been developed. The school of Hofmann claim this principle which they call the *heilsgeschichtliche*,* as the highest attainment of Hermeneutics. This insisting above all upon interpreting Scripture as one divine book giving the history of redemption, is the restatement of the Puritan principle of the gradual revelation of the covenants of grace. The variety of the Bible is better understood in relation to its unity; and the genesis of its revelation of redemption is made more prominent.

Francis Roberts already states it admirably:

"Still remember how Jesus Christ is revealed in Scripture, gradually in promises and covenants, till the noon-day of the gospel shined most clearly. . . . For (1) God is a God of order; and He makes known His gracious contrivances orderly. (2) Christ, and salvation by Him are treasures too high and precious to be disclosed all at once to the church. (3) The state of the church is various; she hath her infancy, her youth, and all the degrees of her minority, as also her riper age; and therefore God revealed Christ, not according to his own *ability of revealing*, but according to the churches *capacity of receiving*. (4) This gradual revealing of Christ suits well with our condition in this world, which is not perfect, but growing into perfection, fully attainable in heaven only. Now this gradual unveiling of the covenant and promises in Christ, is to be much considered throughout the whole Scripture; that we may see the wisdom of God's dispensations, the imperfections of the churches condition here, especially in her minority; and the usefulness of comparing the more dark and imperfect with the more clear and complete manifestation of the mysteries of God's grace in Christ" (in *l. c.*, p. 10).

VIII. METHOD OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

The Bible is composed of a body of literature. As such it is a part of the literature of the world, having features in common with all other literatures, and also

* See Volck, in Zöckler, *Handb.*, p. 661, *seq.*; Hofmann, *Bib. Herm.*, Nord. 1880.

features peculiar to itself. From these circumstances arise the fundamental principles of interpretation. Biblical interpretation is a section of general interpretation. Here all students of the Bible are on common ground. Rationalistic, evangelical, scholastic, and mystical, they should all alike begin here. This is the broad base on which the pyramid of exegesis is to rise to its apex. It is the merit of Schleiermacher that he clearly and definitely established this fundamental relation. From general interpretation arises:

(1) *Grammatical interpretation.* The Bible is written in human languages. These languages contain the Bible which is to be studied. There is no other way than to master them, and thoroughly understand their grammar.*

"Only the philologist can be an interpreter. It is true that the office of interpretation requires more than mere philology, or an acquaintance with language; but all those other qualifications that may belong to it are useless without this acquaintance, whilst on the contrary, in very many cases nothing more than this is necessary for correct interpretation."†

Others than philologists may become interpreters of Scripture by depending upon the labors of philologists in the translations and expositions that they produce—but without these the originals of Scripture would be as inaccessible as the Hamathite inscriptions which still defy the efforts of scholars to decipher them.

The great defect of ancient and mediæval interpretation was in the neglect of the grammar of the Bible, and in the dependence upon the LXX and Vulgate versions. Hence a multitude of errors that have come into the traditional exegesis through the fathers and schoolmen,

* See Chap. III.

† Planck, *Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation*, trans. and edited by S. H. Turner, Edin., 1834, pp. 140-141.

which have become rooted in the history of doctrine and the customs of the church as evil weeds so that it has taken generations of grammatical study to eradicate them. It is the merit of Ernesti in modern times that he so insisted upon grammatical exegesis that he induced exegetes of all classes to begin their work here at the foundation. Grammatical exegesis is, however, dependent upon the progress of linguistic studies. There has been great progress in the knowledge of the New Testament Greek: in the study of the dialects, in the comparison of the Greek with its cognates of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, in the science of etymology of words, and still more in the history of the use of words in Greek literature. In the study of the Hebrew language, there has been still greater progress. When one traces the history of its study in modern times, and rises from Levita and Reuchlin, through Buxtorf and Castel, Schultens and John Taylor, to Gesenius and Ewald, one feels that he is climbing to greater and greater heights. The older interpreters who knew nothing of comparative Shemitic philology, who did not understand the position of the Hebrew language in the development of the Shemitic family, who were ignorant of its rich and varied syntax, who relied on traditional meanings of words, and had not learned their etymologies and their historic growth—lived almost in another world. The modern Hebrew scholars are working in far more extended relations, and upon vastly deeper principles, and we should not be surprised at new and almost revolutionary results.

(2) The second stage of our pyramid of exegesis is *logical and rhetorical interpretation*. Here also there are general features in common with other literatures, and also features peculiar to Biblical literature.

(a) The laws of thought are derived from the human mind itself. These enable us to determine the value of all thought, to discriminate the true, close, exact reasoning from the inexact and fallacious. It is assumed by some that the Bible is divine in such a sense that it corresponds with these laws of thought exactly and is faultless in its logic. If this were so, it is astonishing that we find so little that is technical, or in the form of logical propositions, in the Bible. Here was the fault of the Jewish Halacha, and the mediæval dialectic, and the modern scholastic use of proof texts. The Bible has been interpreted by the formulas of Aristotle in the middle age, and then by the logical methods of the different philosophies in the modern age. These scholastic and philosophical logicians overlook the fact that pure logic is one thing, applied logic another, and the history of its application a third. There are differences in logic as in other things. Human logic is far from infallible. Our modern logic has not remained in the state of innocence, nor has it reached the state of perfection. Certainly there are few if any dogmatic divines and philosophers who do not violate its principles and neglect its methods as stated in our logical manuals. Every race has indeed its own methods of reasoning. The German and the French minds move in somewhat different grooves. Still more is this the case when we consider the Hebrew and the Greek and the Anglo-Saxon. The Biblical writers wrote for the men of their own time and used the forms of thought of the men of their time. It is not sufficient, therefore, to apply logical analysis to the text of the Scripture, as is so often done.* The proper use of logical interpretation is to seek for the

* Lange, *Hermeneutik*, p. 43.

method of reasoning of the Biblical author; his plan, his scope, his course of argument, and the relation of his methods to those of his cotemporaries.

"The Scripture doth not explaine the will of God by universal and scientific rules, but by narrations, examples, precepts, exhortations, admonitions, and promises; because that manner doth make most for the common use of all kinde of men, and also most to affect the will, and stirre up godly motions, which is the chief scope of divinity." *

"Language is not the invention of metaphysicians, or convocations of the wise and learned. It is the common blessing of mankind, framed for their mutual advantage in their intercourse with each other. Its laws therefore are popular, not philosophical, being founded on the general laws of thought which govern the whole mass in the community. . . . Scarcely will we hear in a long and serious conversation between the best speakers, a sentence which does not need some modification or limitation in order that we may not attribute to it more or less than was intended. Nor is the operation at all difficult. We make the correction instantly, with so little cost of thought that we would be tempted to call it instinct did we not know that many of our perceptions which seem intuitive are the results of habit and education. It would be an exceedingly strange thing, if the Bible, the most popular of all books, composed by men, for the most part taken from the multitude, addressed to all, and on subjects interesting to all, were found written in language to be interpreted on different principles. But, in point of fact, it is not. Its style is eminently, and to a remarkable degree, that which we would expect to find in a volume designed by its gracious Author to be the *people's* book—abounding in all those kinds of inaccuracy which are sprinkled through ordinary discourse; hyperboles, analogies, and loose catachrestical expressions, whose meaning no one mistakes, though their deviation from *plumb*, occasionally makes the small critic sad." †

Again, it is an abuse of logical interpretation to regard

* Ames, *Marrow of Sacred Divinity*, London, 1643.

† McClelland, *Manual of Sacred Interpretation*, pp. 61-63, N. Y. 1842.

the Biblical writers as all alike logical. Those who take the logical methods of the apostle Paul as the key to the New Testament, and interpret, by the apostle to the Gentiles, the practical Peter and James and the mystic John and above all our blessed Lord Jesus himself, the Son of man, embracing in himself all the types of humanity for the redemption of all—do violence to these other writers, rend the seamless robe of the gospel, and do not aid the proper understanding of Paul himself. Those who should find the key of the Old Testament in the wisdom literature, would commit a most unpardonable blunder. How much greater is the sin of those who first insist upon interpreting the epistles of Paul in accordance with the principles of analysis of modern logic, and then of interpreting all the rest of the New Testament by this interpretation of Paul, and then the whole body of the Hebrew Old Testament by this interpretation of the New Testament. In view of such a method, one might inquire, why take all this trouble to *impose* meanings upon such a vast body of ancient literature? It would be far easier and more honest to construct the dogmatic system by logical principles, and leave the Bible to itself. We are not surprised that when and where such methods have prevailed, Biblical studies have been neglected and despised.

(b) *Rhetorical* interpretation is closely connected with logical. There are common features of rhetoric that belong to all discourse, and there are special features which are peculiar to the Biblical literature. The Bible has been tested and interpreted too often, after Greek, German, French, and English models (see Chap. viii.). We have to discriminate in the Bible the more logical parts from the more rhetorical parts. The fault of the Halacha and scholastic methods was in their overlooking the rhe-

torical features of the Bible. The fault of the Haggada and allegorical methods was in overlooking the logical. In rhetorical exegesis it is essential to discriminate poetry from prose, the different kinds of poetry and prose from each other, the style of each author, as well as the literary peculiarities of the people and race which produced the Bible. Here is a neglected field of study which promises great rewards to those who will pursue it,* and it will prove of especial richness to the homilist and catechist.

(3) Thus far all parties work in common. As we rise to the higher stage of *historical interpretation* there arise differences between the rationalistic and other interpreters, owing to certain presuppositions with which they approach the Bible. There are different conceptions of history. The evangelical interpreters recognize the supernatural element as the determining factor; the rationalistic interpreters endeavor to explain everything by purely natural laws. Among believers in the supernatural there is also a difference, in that some are ever resorting to the supernatural to explain the history, while other more judicious interpreters explain by the natural element until they are compelled by overpowering evidence to resort to the supernatural. Semler has the credit in modern times of laying great stress on the historic interpretation. In historical exegesis we have to recognize that the Biblical writers were men of their times and yet men above their times. They were influenced by inspiration to introduce new divine revelations, and to revive old truths and set them in new lights; they were reformers, and so came into conflict with the conservatives of their time. Many errors spring up here. The Pharisees interpreted the

* See page 228 *sup.*

Old Testament by tradition. The scholastics pursue the same course with reference to the New Testament. The rationalists interpret Scripture altogether by history and natural forces. Here the scholastic and rationalistic interpreters of our times lock horns. They are both alike in error. Tradition is the bastard of history and should be resorted to only when we have no history, and then with caution and suspicion as to its origin. History is to help, not rule—for in the history of redemption the supernatural force shapes and controls history. The true method is to rise from the natural to the supernatural. History has been impregnated with the supernatural. We must not expect to find the supernatural everywhere on the surface. The supernatural comes into play only when the natural is incapable of accomplishing the divine purpose; so it is to be sought when it alone is capable of affording explanation of the phenomena. Then the supernatural displays itself with convincing, assuring force.

Lutz has some admirable remarks here : *

"The historico-grammatical method of interpretation has brought out truths which cannot be valued too highly. No book needs more than the Holy Scriptures to be understood in accordance with the times in which they were first read. . . . But it is just as true that such an exposition in its one-sidedness limiting itself to grammar and history, entirely loses sight of the peculiar features of the Bible, and would bring about a complete separation between church and exegesis. Thereby the church would be deprived of its light, and exegesis would dig its own grave."

(4) In rising to *comparative interpretation* we have to distinguish still further the attitude of interpreters toward the Bible. Supernaturalists come to the Bible as a *sacred canon*, an organic whole. Rationalists come to the Bible

* *Bibl. Herm.*, Pfortshelm, 1862. 2te Aug., p. 168.

as a collection of merely human writings. It is the merit of the Puritans, of the Federalists of Holland, and in recent times of the schools of Schleiermacher and Hofmann, that they urged the organic unity of Scripture. It is presumed that writers are consistent, and that writers of the same school are in substantial accord. This is a general presumption derived from the study of all literature. But we must go further and as supernaturalists insist that as all the writers of the Bible are of the school of the Holy Spirit and conspired to give us the complete organism of the canon, there is a unity and concord that extends throughout the Bible. There is error here on the right and the left. The rationalists regard the Bible as a bundle of miscellaneous and heterogeneous writings. The scholastics regard them as a homogeneous mass. As Lange says :

"We should read the Bible as a *human* book, but not as a *heathen* book ; as a *divino-human* book according to the fact that there is a distinction between elect men of God who walk on the heights of humanity and the populace in the low plains of humanity ; as the documents of revelation, which participate throughout in the revelation, the *unicum* among all religious writings." *

The rationalists sink the unity in the variety ; the scholastics destroy the variety for the sake of the unity. The true evangelical position is, that the Bible is a vast organism in which the unity springs from an amazing variety. The unity is not that of a mass of rocks or a pool of water. It is the unity that one finds in the best works of God. It is the unity of the ocean where every wave has its individuality of life and movement. It is the unity of the continent, in which mountains and rivers, valleys and uplands, flowers and trees, birds and insects, animal and human life combine to distinguish it

* *Gründriss d. bib. Hermeneutik*, Heidelberg, 1878, p. 68.

as a magnificent whole from other continents. It is the unity of the heaven, where star differs from star in form, color, order, movement, size, and importance, but all declare the glory of God.

(5) As we rise to the fifth stage of exegesis, the use of the *literature of interpretation*, we part company with the Roman Catholic and all churchly interpreters. The Bible is the Canon of the Christian Church. What relation does it sustain to the Church? We are separated from the originals by ages. Multitudes of students have studied the Bible, and their labor has not been in vain. As the prince of modern preachers says :

"In order to be able to expound the Scriptures, and as an aid to your pulpit studies, you will need to be familiar with the commentators: a glorious array, let me tell you, whose acquaintance will be your delight and profit. Of course, you are not such wiseacres as to think or say that you can expound Scripture without assistance from the works of divines and learned men, who have labored before you in the field of exposition. . . . It seems odd, that certain men who talk so much of what the Holy Spirit reveals to themselves, should think so little of what he has revealed to others." *

But the question presses itself upon the exegete, how far he is to go in allowing himself to be influenced by the history of exegesis. The Roman Catholic Church makes the church itself, the fathers, and councils, the expositors of Scripture, to which all exposition is to be conformed. We have learned from the history of exegesis how false this position is.† We have found the best interpreters using false methods, and establishing false principles. The literature of exegesis is an invaluable help, but this help is as much negative as positive. It exhibits a vast multitude of errors that have been exposed, and so prevents us from stumbling into them. It shows us a great num-

* Spurgeon, *Commenting and Commentaries*, p. 11.

† See page 328 seq.

ber of positions so plainly established and fortified, that it were folly to question them. But at the same time, it presents a number of positions so weakly supported, that they excite suspicion of their validity; and others, where contests have not resulted in settlement. The literature of exegesis enables us to understand the real state of the questions that have to be determined by the interpreter of the Scriptures. It prevents us from wasting our energies in doing what others have done before us, or in working in barren or unprofitable fields; and it directs us to the fruitful soil of the Bible, the mines to be worked, and the problems to be solved. It were suicidal for interpretation to limit itself to the exegesis of the fathers, the schoolmen, or even the reformers and theologians of the Protestant churches. It would result in forsaking the interpretation of the Scriptures, and devoting ourselves to the interpretation of the interpreters.

Francis Roberts happily says:

"There must be constant caution that all tongues, arts, histories, translations, and comments be duly ranked in their proper place, in a subserviency under, not a regency or predominancy over the Holy Scriptures, which are to controule them all. For when Hagar shall once usurp over her mistress, it's high time to cast her out of doors till she submit herself." *

(6) In rising a stage higher in our pyramid to *doctrinal interpretation*, we must part company with the Protestant scholastics, for which we have been prepared, as were Abraham and Lot by previous minor contentions. The Bible is a divine revelation. It presents us with "what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." † The Bible is the rule of faith. It

* In *L. c.*, p. 5.

† *West. Shorter Cat.*, seq.

is to be interpreted in accordance with the analogy of faith. This analogy is the substance of Scripture doctrine found in the plainest passages of Scripture. This was the view of the reformers. But the scholastics substituted for this *internal* rule of faith an *external* rule of faith—first in the apostles' creed, then in the symbols of the churches, and finally in the Reformed or Lutheran or Anglican systems of doctrine. And thus the Scriptures became the slaves of dogmatic *a priori* systems. The evangelical interpreter returns to the position of the reformers. He has learned in the history of doctrine that the early church depended too much upon the apostle John, the mediæval church upon Peter and James, the modern church on the apostle Paul. He finds a system of theology in the Bible itself which he has learned as a Biblical Theology to be carefully distinguished from Dogmatic Theology. He has found that Peter and John and James and Paul were all disciples of Jesus Christ, and have in Him their centre and life. The evangelical interpreter has learned that the Old Testament is an organic whole, in which priests and prophets, sages and poets find their centre and life in the theophanies of Jehovah. He has learned that Jehovah and Jesus are one, and that in the Messiah of prophecy and history the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments become an organic whole. With this bringing forth of the internal substance of the Scriptures in its unity and variety theological exposition finds its satisfaction and delight, and the analogy of faith is harmonized with the principles of interpretation which have indeed prepared the way for its advance and achievements.* Francis Roberts saw this and stated it in the 17th century.†

* See Chap. XI.

† In *L. c.*, p. 20.

"Now that we may more successfully and clearly understand Scripture by Scripture, these ensuing particulars are to be observed : (1) *That Jesus Christ our mediator and the salvation of sinners by Him is the very substance, marrow, soul and scope of the whole Scriptures.* What are the whole Scriptures, but as it were the spiritual swadling cloathes of the Holy child Jesus. (1) Christ is the truth and substance of all the types and shadows. (2) Christ is the matter and substance of the Covenant of Grace under all administrations thereof ; under the Old Testament Christ is *veiled*, under the New Covenant *revealed*. (3) Christ is the centre and meeting-place of all the promises, for in him all the promises of God are yea, and they are Amen. (4) Christ is the thing signified, sealed, and exhibited in all the sacraments of Old and New Testaments, whether ordinary or extraordinary. (5) Scripture genealogies are to lead us on to the true line of Christ. (6) Scripture chronologies are to discover to us the times and seasons of Christ. (7) Scripture laws are our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ ; the moral by correcting, the ceremonial by directing. And (8) Scripture gospel is Christ's *light*, whereby we know him ; Christ's voice, whereby we hear and follow him ; Christ's cords of love, whereby we are drawn into sweet union and communion with him ; yea it is the power of God unto salvation unto all them that believe in Christ Jesus. Keep therefore still Jesus Christ in your eye, in the perusal of the Scripture, as the end, scope, and substance thereof. For as the sun gives light to all the heavenly bodies, so Jesus Christ the sun of righteousness gives light to all the Holy Scriptures."

(7) In rising now to the highest stage of interpretation—*practical interpretation*—we part company with the mystics as well as the scholastics, and return to the position of the Puritans and Westminster divines. The Bible is a book of life—a people's book—a book of conduct. It came from the living God. It tends to the living God. Here is the apex of the pyramid of interpretation. He who has not reached this stage has stopped on the way and will not understand the Bible. The Bible brings the interpreter to God. We can understand the Bible only by mastering it. We

need the master key. No one but the Master himself can give it to us. It is necessary to know God and His Christ in order to know the Bible. The Scriptures cannot be understood from the outside by grammar, logic, rhetoric, and history alone. The Bible cannot be understood when involved in the labyrinth of its doctrines. The Bible is to be understood from its centre—its heart—its Christ. Jesus Christ does not reveal Himself ordinarily aside from the Bible, by new revelations outside of it casting new light upon it from the exterior, as the mystics suppose. But the Messiah is the light centre of the Scriptures themselves. He is enthroned in them as His Holy of Holies, as was Jehovah in the ancient temple. Through the avenues of the Scriptures we go to find Christ—in their centre we find our Saviour. It is this personal relation of the author of the entire Scripture to the interpreter that enables him truly to understand the divine things of the Scripture. Jesus Christ knew the Old Testament and interpreted it as one who knew the mind of God.* He needed no helps to climb the pyramid of interpretation. He was born and ever lived at the summit. The apostles interpreted the Scriptures from the mind of Christ, read by the Spirit He had given them.† We have no such supernatural help. We cannot use their *a priori* methods, but we may climb toward them. We have all the enthusiasm of the quest—all the joy of discovery.

It is not necessary for us to complete our studies of the lower stages of exegesis ere we climb higher. The exegete is not building the pyramid. He is climbing it. Every passage tends toward the summit. Some interpreters remain forever in the lowest stages. Others

* See p. 322.

† See p. 322.

spring hastily to the higher stages and fall back crippled and are flung down to the lowest. The patient, faithful, honest exegete climbs steadily to the summit.

Our Puritan fathers understood this principle. The doctrine that the Holy Spirit is the supreme interpreter of Scripture is the highest attainment of interpretation. The greatest leaders of the church in all ages have acted on this principle, however defective their apprehension of it may have been, and however little they may have consciously used it in Scripture interpretation. It was this consciousness of knowing the mind of the Spirit and having the truth of God that made them invincible. It was Athanasius against the world. With the divine truth of the blessed Trinity he was mightier than the world. It was Luther against pope and emperor. He could do no other. The Word of God in his hands and in his heart assured him of justification by faith; and poor, weak man though he was, he was mightier than Church and State combined.

It was this principle "that the supreme judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture,"* that made the Puritan faith and life invincible.

O that their descendants had maintained it! If they had laid less stress upon the minor matters: the order of the decrees, the extent of the atonement, the nature of imputation, the mode of inspiration, and the divine right of presbytery,—and had adhered to this essential principle of their fathers, the history of Puritanism would

* *Westminster Confession*, I. 10.

have been higher, grander, and more successful. We would not now be threatened with the ruin that has overtaken all its unfaithful predecessors in their turn. Let their children return to it; let them cling to it as the most precious achievement of British Christianity; let them raise it on their banners, and advance with it into the conflicts of the day; let them plant it on every hill and in every valley throughout the world; let them not only give the Bible into the hands of men and translate it into their tongues, but let them put it into their hearts, and translate it into their lives. Then will Biblical interpretation reach its culmination in practical interpretation, in the experience and life of mankind.

CHAPTER XI.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY, as a theological discipline, had its origin in the effort to throw off from the Bible the accumulated traditions of scholasticism, guard it from the perversions of mysticism, and defend it from the attacks of rationalism. Its growth has been through a struggle with these abnormal tendencies, until it has established a well-defined system, presenting the unity of the Scriptures as a divine organism, and justly estimating the various human types of religion, doctrine, and morals.

I. THE FOUR TYPES OF THEOLOGY.

The Bible is the divine revelation as it has become fixed and permanent in written documents of various persons in different periods of history, collected in one body called the canon, or sacred Scriptures. All Christian theology must be founded on the Bible, and yet the theologians of the various Christian churches, and the several periods of Christian history have differed greatly in their use of the Bible. Each age has its own providential problems to solve in the progress of our race, and seeks in the divine word for their solution, looking from the point of view of its own immediate and peculiar necessities. Each temperament and characteristic tendency of human nature approaches the Bible from its

own peculiarities and necessities. The subjective and the objective, the form and the substance of knowledge, the real and the ideal, are ever readjusting themselves to the advancing generations. If the Bible were a codex of laws, or a system of doctrines, there would still be room for difference of attitude and interpretation; but inasmuch as the Bible is rather a collection of various kinds of literature: poetry and prose, history and story, oration and epistle, sentence of wisdom and dramatic incident; and, as a whole, concrete rather than abstract, the room for difference of attitude and interpretation is vastly enhanced. Principles are not always distinctly given, but must ordinarily be derived from a concrete body of truth and facts, and concrete relations; and everything depends upon the point of view, method, process, and the spirit with which the study is conducted.

Thus the *mystic* spirit arising from an emotional nature and unfolding into a more or less refined æsthetic sense, seeks union and communion with God, direct, immediate, and vital, through the religious feeling. It either strives to break through the forms of religion to the spiritual substance, or else by the imagination sees allegories in the forms, or modes of divine manifestation in sensuous outlines and colors of beauty and grandeur, to be interpreted by the religious æsthetic taste. The religious element is disproportionately unfolded, to the neglect of the doctrinal and ethical. This mystic spirit exists in all ages and in most religions, but it was especially prominent in the Ante-Nicene church, and in Greek and Oriental Christianity, and was distinguished by its intense *devotion* and its too exclusive absorption in the contemplation of God and of Jesus Christ as God and Saviour. Its exegesis is characterized by the allegorical method.

The *scholastic* spirit seeks union and communion with God by means of well-ordered forms. It searches the Word of God for a well-defined system of law and doctrine by which to rule the Church and control the world. It arises from an intellectual nature, and grows into a more or less acute logical sense, and a taste for systems of order. This spirit exists in all ages and in most religions, but was especially dominant in the middle age of the church and in Latin Christianity. It is distinguished by an intense legality and by too exclusive attention to the works of the law, and the consideration of the sovereignty of God, the sinfulness of man, and the satisfaction to be rendered to God for sin. In Biblical studies it is distinguished by the legal, analytic method of interpretation, carried on at times with such hair-splitting distinctions, and subtilty of reasoning, that the Scriptures become as it were a magician's book, which through the device of the manifold sense are as effectual to the purpose of the dogmatist for proof texts as are the sacraments to the priests in their magical operation. The doctrinal element prevails over the religious and ethical.

The *speculative* spirit seeks union and communion with God through the human reason and conscience, and, like the mystic spirit, disregards the form, but from another point of view. It is developed into a more or less pure *ethical* sense. It works with honest doubt and inquisitive search after truth, for the solution of the great problem of the world and man. It is distinguished by an intense *rationality* and *morality*. It yearns for a conscience at peace with God and working in faith toward God and love toward man. This has been the prevailing spirit in the Germanic world since the Reformation, and is still the characteristic spirit of our age. The Church,

its institutions and doctrines, the sacred Scriptures themselves, are subjected to earnest criticism in the honest search for moral and redemptive truth, and the eternal ideas of right, which are good forever, and are approved by the reason and conscience. The ethical element prevails over the religious and the doctrinal.

Now, the evangelical spirit combines what is true and of advantage in all these tendencies of human nature. Born of the Holy Spirit, it is ever appropriating all the faculties and powers of man, and eliminating therefrom defective and abnormal tendencies and habits. It is reverent, believing, loving approach to God *through* the means of grace. It is above all vital union and communion with the Triune God in the forms of divine appointment, and the love and service of God and the brethren with all the faculties. It uses the form in order to the substance. It is inquiring, obedient, devout, and reformatory. It combines the subject and the object of knowledge, and aims to realize the ideal. It unites the devotional with the legal and moral habits and attitudes. It strives to unite in the church the various types of human experience in order to complete manhood, and the completion of the kingdom of God in the golden age of the Messiah.

This evangelical spirit is the spirit of our Saviour, who speaks to us through four evangelists in the various types, in order to give us a complete and harmonious representation of Himself. This is the spirit which combines the variety of the Old and New Testament writers into the unity of the Holy Ghost. This is the spirit which animated the Christian church in its great advancing epochs, when a variety of leaders, guided by the Holy Spirit, combined the types into comprehensive movements. This was the underlying and moving prin-

ciple of the Reformation and of Puritanism where vital religion combined with great intellectual activity and moral earnestness, to produce the churches of Protestant Christianity.

The great initial movements by which the Christian church advanced in the combination of the variety of forces into harmonious operation, in every case gave way to reaction and decline, in which the various forces separated themselves, and some particular one prevailed. So it was in the seventeenth century after the Reformation. The successors of the reformers, declining from the vital religion and moral vigor of Luther, Calvin, and Knox, broke up into various antagonistic parties in the different national churches, in hostility with one another, more and more marring the harmony of divine truth and the principles of the Reformation. The reaction first began with those who had inherited the scholastic spirit from the middle age, and substituted a Protestant scholasticism for the mediæval scholasticism in the Lutheran and Reformed churches of the continent, and a Protestant ecclesiasticism for a papal in the churches of Great Britain. The Scriptures once more became the slaves of dogmatic systems and ecclesiastical machinery, and were reduced to the menial service of furnishing proof texts to the foregone conclusions of polemic divines and ecclesiastics.

The French Huguenots and British Puritans, in their struggles against persecution, maintained a vital religion, and reacted to the unfolding of the mystic type of theology and devoted their attention to works of piety, to union and communion with God, and the practical application of the Scriptures to Christian life, holding fast to the covenant of grace as the principle of their entire theology, while they distinguished between a theoretical

and a practical divinity, presenting the former in the common Reformed sense, but advancing the latter to a very high degree of development, the best expression of which is found in the Westminster symbols.* Puritanism had, however, within itself antagonistic elements, which separated themselves after the composition of the Westminster standards, into various types, and the *Puritan* spirit largely advanced into the *Puritanical*, on the one side reacting to *scholasticism* in the school of the Independent divine, John Owen, and on the other into *mysticism*, in the many separating churches of Great Britain, and in such members of the Westminster Assembly as Thomas Goodwin and Peter Sterry. Puritanism passed over to the continent through Wm. Ames and others, and in the school of Cocceius maintained a more biblical cast of doctrine in the system of the covenants, and afterward gave birth to Pietism in Reformed and Lutheran Germany, producing the biblical school of Bengel and the Moravians; subsequently bursting forth in England in the form of Methodism, which is a genu-

* John Dury, one of the Westminster divines, a Scotchman, the great peace-maker of his age, in his work, *An Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion*, sheds much light upon this subject. He defines Practical Divinity to be "a system or collection of divine truth relating to the Practice of Piety." The great majority of the writings of the Puritan divines and Westminster men are upon this theme. It embraces chaps. xix.-xxxi. of the Westminster Confession of Faith, the larger part of the Catechisms, and indeed the more characteristic, the abler, and the better parts. Wm. Gouge (also member of Westminster Assembly) in 1633 headed a petition of the London ministers to Archbishop Ussher to frame a system of Practical Divinity, as a bond of union among Protestants, distinguishing between essentials and circumstantial. John Dury, in 1654, presents such an outline himself, working it out on the principle of the Covenant of Grace. He says: "Nor is it possible (as I conceive) ever to unite the Professors of Christianity to each other, to heal their breaches and divisions in Doctrine and Practice, and to make them live together, as brethren in one spirit ought to do, without the same sense of the Covenant by which they may be made to perceive the terms upon which God doth unite all those that are his children unto himself" (p. 19). *An Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion*, London, 1654).

ine child of Puritanism in the stress that it lays upon piety and a Christian life, although it shares with all these movements that have grown out of Puritanism, the common fault of undue emphasis upon the religious element, and a more or less sharply defined mysticism, to the neglect of the doctrinal and the ethical.

The school of Saumur in France, the school of Calixtus in Germany, and the Cambridge Platonists in England (who were Puritan in origin and training), revived the ethical type and strove to give the human reason its proper place and functions in matters of religion, and prepared the way for a broad, comprehensive church. They were accompanied, however, by a more active movement, which by an undue emphasis of the rational and the ethical, followed Hobbes, John Goodwin, and Biddle into a movement which in England assumed the form of Deism, and in France of Atheism, in Holland of Pantheism, and in Germany of Rationalism. And thus the three great types became antagonized both within the national churches, in struggling parties, and without the national churches, in separating churches and hostile forms of religion and irreligion, of philosophy and of science. Thus the evangelical spirit of the Reformation was crushed between the contending parties, and its voice drowned for a while by the clamor of partisanship. The struggle has continued into the present century, but has been modified since Schleiermacher in the growth of the evangelical spirit to become the potent reconciling force of the 19th century.*

* The various types are not always found in their strength and purity as divergent forces, but frequently in a more or less mixed condition. Thus the Cambridge Platonists, while predominantly rational and ethical, were also characterized by the mystic spirit, especially in the case of Henry Moore. The Puritans, William Perkins and William Ames, combined the scholastic and mystic types. The scholastic and the rational combined in Calixtus and Arminius.

II. RISE OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

It was in the midst of this conflict of theological types that Biblical Theology had its origin and historical development, and has now its position and importance. It was first during the conflict between Rationalism and Supernaturalism in Germany that the need of a Biblical Theology began to be felt. Scripture was the common battle-field of Protestants, and each party strove to present the Scriptures from its own peculiar point of view; and it became important to distinguish the teachings of the Scriptures themselves from the teachings of the schools and the theologians of the contending parties. This was attempted almost simultaneously from both sides of the conflict. G. T. Zacharia, a pupil of Baumgarten at Halle, and a decided supernaturalist,* would compare the Biblical ideas with the church doctrine in order to correct and purify the latter. He would base Dogmatics on the Scriptures, which alone can prove and correct the system. The author speaks of the advancing economy of redemption, but has no conception of an *organic* development.† Soon after, Ammon (C. F.) issued his work on Biblical Theology.‡ Ammon was a rationalist. Miracles and prophecy are rejected as untenable. They will not bear critical and historical investigation. He would gather material from the Bible for a dogmatic system without regard to the system that might be built upon it.§ Thus from both sides the scholastic system was undermined by the scriptural investigation.

* *Bibl. Theol. oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren*, 1772.

† See Tholuck's view of him in Herzog, *Real Ency.*, 1 Auf., xviii., p. 351.

‡ *Entwurf einer reinen Bibl. Theologie*, 1792, and *Biblische Theologie*, 1801.

§ Tholuck regards his Biblical Theology as a fundamental one for the historical-critical Rationalism. (See Herzog, 1 Auf., xix., p. 54, *seq.*)

In the meanwhile Michaelis, Griesbach, and Eichhorn had given a new impetus to Biblical studies. Gabler (J. F.), the pupil and friend of Eichhorn and Griesbach, who influenced him and largely determined his theological position, first laid the foundations of Biblical Theology as a distinct theological discipline.* He presented the *historical principle* as the distinguishing feature of Biblical Theology over against a system of Dogmatics.† Gabler himself did not work out his principles into a system, but left this as an inheritance to his successors.

Lorenzo Baur‡ defines Biblical Theology as a development, pure and unmixed with foreign elements, of the religious theories of the Jews, of Jesus, and the apostles, according to the different historical periods, the varied acquirements and views of the sacred writers, as derived from their writings. He sought to determine the universal principles which would apply to all times and individuals. He would from the shell of Biblical ideas get the kernel of the universal religion.§ De Wette|| sought to separate the essential from the non-essential by re-

* In an academic discourse: *de justo discrimine theologia biblica et dogmatica regundisque recte utriusque finibus*, 1787.

† Gabler was a man of the type of Eichhorn and Herder, on the borders of the 18th and 19th centuries, from whom the fructifying influences upon the Evangelical Theology of the 19th century went forth. He labored for many years as Professor at Jena, and worked for the advancement of Biblical and Historical Learning with an intense moral earnestness.

‡ *Bibl. Theol. d. N. T.*, 1800-1802.

§ P. C. Kaiser's *Biblische Theologie oder Judaismus und Christianismus nach grammatisch-historischen Interpretationsmethode und nach einer freimüthigen Stellung in die kritisch vergleichende Universalgeschichte der Religion und die universale Religion* (Bd. I., 1813; II. a., 1814; II. b. 1821) is of the same point of view.

|| *Bibl. Dogmatik des Alt. und Neuen Testaments oder kritische Darstellung der Religionslehre des Hebraismus, des Judenthums, des Urchristenthums*, 1813, 3te Aufl., 1831.

ligious philosophical reflection. He would exclude the local, the temporal, and the individual in order to attain the universal religion. He made the advance of treating Biblical Theology in periods, and of distinguishing the characteristic features of Hebraism and Judaism, of Christ and His apostles; but in his treatment the dogmatic element has too great prominence given to it, so that he justly gives this work the title, *Biblical Dogmatics*.* W. Vatke† in 1835 issued an able and instructive work, discussing fully the essential character of the Biblical religion in relation to the idea of religion. He divides his theme into two parts, presenting the religion of the Old and the New Testaments. The first part is subdivided into two stages: the Bloom and the Decay, historically traced. The author also divides into a general and a special part; the former alone has been published, and is entirely speculative in character. It does not consider the individualities of the authors, and shows no advance beyond L. Baur and DeWette.‡ Daniel von Cölln§ carries out the historical method more thoroughly than any of his predecessors, and presents a much more complete system, but he does not escape the speculative

* L. F. O. Baumgarten Crusius' *Grundzüge der Biblischen Theologie*, 1808, is of slight importance, reacting from the advances made by L. Baur and De Wette.

† *Religion des Alten Testaments nach den kanonischen Büchern entwickelt*, as the first part of a Biblical Theology.

‡ It has recently come into prominence, owing to the author's views of O. T. Literature, which are in agreement with those of Reuss and Kuenen, at the basis of the Critical Theories of Wellhausen.

§ J. C. F. Steudel's *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments* nach dessen Tode herausgegeben von G. F. Oehler, 1840, is still on the older ground, taking Biblical Theology to be "the systematic survey of the religious ideas which are found in the writings of the Old Testament," including the Apocryphal, without distinction of periods or authors or writings, all arranged under the topics: Man, God, and the relation between God and Man.

§ *Bibl. Theo.*, 1836.

trammels of his predecessors. He presents the following principles of Biblical Theology :

"(1) To carefully distinguish the times and authors, and the mediate as well as the immediate presentation of doctrine; (2) To strongly maintain the religious ideas of the authors themselves; (3) To present and explain the symbolical mythical forms and their relation to the pure ideas and convictions of the authors; (4) To explain the relation of the authors and their methods to the external conditions of the people, the time and the place under which they were trained; (5) To search for the origin of the ideas in their primitive forms."*

De Wette and Von Cöln recognize a difference of the authors, but not from any inner peculiarity of the authors themselves, but from the external conditions of time, place, and circumstances. The authors are placed side by side without any real conception of their differences or of their unity. The historical principle is applied and worked out, but in an external fashion, and the relation to the universal religion and other religions is considered rather than the interrelation of the various doctrines and types of the Scriptures themselves.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

This was the condition of affairs when Strauss issued his *Life of Jesus*, and sought, by arraying one New Testament writer against another, as F. Baur justly charges against him, to prove the incompetence of all the witnesses and reduce the life of Jesus to a myth.† F. Baur himself sought by the historico-critical process to show the natural development of Christianity out of the various forces brought into conflict with each other in the

* *Bib. Theologie*, I., p. 30.

† F. Baur, *Krit. Untersuch. in d. hann. Evang.*, p. 71; F. Baur, *Kirchengeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 307. Strauss replies in his *Leben Jesu f. d. deutsche Volk.*, p. 64.

first and second Christian centuries, reducing the life and teachings of Jesus to a minimum. Neander grappled with the mythical hypothesis of Strauss, and the development hypothesis of F. Baur, and sought to construct a life of Jesus and a history of the apostolic church, resting upon a sound historical criticism of the New Testament writings.* He introduced a new principle into Biblical Theology, and made it a section in his History of the Apostles. He sought to distinguish the individualities of the various sacred writers in their conception of Christianity and to unite them in a higher unity.

"The doctrine of Christ was not to be given to man as a stiff and dead letter, in a fixed and inflexible form, but, as the word of the Spirit and of life, was to be proclaimed in and by its life in living variation and variety. Men enlightened by the Divine Spirit caught up these doctrines and appropriated them in a living manner according to their respective differences in education and life. These differences were to manifest the *living* unity, the richness and depth of the Christian spirit according to the various modes of human conception, unconsciously complementing and explaining each other. For Christianity is meant for all men, and can adapt itself to the most varied human characters, transform them and unite them in a higher unity. For the various peculiarities and fundamental tendencies in human nature are designed to work in and with one another at all times for the realization of the idea of humanity, the presentation of the kingdom of God in humanity."†

Neander thus gave to Biblical Theology a new and important feature that was indispensable for the further development of the discipline. Neander's presentation

* *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel*, 1832, 5th Aufl., 1862; translated into English in Biblical Cabinet, Edinburgh, 1842; Bohn's Library, London, 1856; translated by J. E. Ryland, revised and corrected according to the fourth German edition by E. G. Robinson, N. Y., 1865.

† *Gesch. d. Pf. und Leit.*, Gotha, 5te Aufl., p. 301.

has still many defects. It is kept in a too subordinate position to his history. But he takes the stand so necessary for the growth of Biblical Theology that the theology of the various authors is to be determined from their own characters and the essential and fundamental conceptions of their own writings. Neander presents as the central idea of Paul, the law and righteousness, which give the *connection* as well as *contrast* between his original and final conception. The fundamental idea of James is, that Christianity is the *perfect law*. John's conception is, that divine life is in communion with the Redeemer, death in estrangement from Him.

Schmid, a colleague of F. Baur at Tübingen, first gave Biblical Theology its proper place in Theological Encyclopædia.* He defined Biblical Theology as belonging essentially to the department of *Exegetical Theology*. "We understand by Biblical Theology of the New Testament the historico-genetic presentation of Christianity as this is given in the canonical writings of the New Testament; a discipline which is essentially distinguished from Systematic Theology by its *historical* character, while by its *limitation to the biblical writings of the New Testament*, it is separated from Historical Theology, and is characterized as a *part of Exegetical Theology*. Of this last it constitutes the *summit* by which Exegetical Theology is connected with the roots of Systematic as well as Historical Theology, and even touches Practical Theology." Schmid regards Christianity as the fulfilment of the Old Covenant, which consists in Law and Promise.† He seeks to present Christianity in its

* In his invaluable essay, *Ueber das Interesse und den Stand d. Bibl. Theo. des Neu. Test. in unserer Zeit*. *Tübinger Zeitschrift f. Theo.*, 4. Heft., 1838, pp. 126, 129.

† *Bibl. Theo.*, p. 367.

unity with the Old Testament as well as in its contrast thereto. He thus gains four possibilities of doctrine, which are realized in the four principal apostles. James presents Christianity as the fulfilled Law; Peter as the fulfilled Promise; Paul as contrasted with the Law; and John as contrasted with both Law and Promise. For many years he lectured on the Theology of the New Testament. These lectures were published after his death by his pupils.*

Oehler (G. F.), also of the university of Tübingen, takes the same position with reference to the Old Testament.† He defines the Theology of the Old Testament as "the historico-genetic presentation of the revealed religion contained in the canonical writings of the Old Testament." His Lectures were first issued in 1873-4,‡ by his son. Oehler distinguishes in the Old Testament three parts: Mosaism, Prophetism, and the Chokma—the first fundamental; the Prophetism representing the objective side, and the Chokma the subjective: these two unfolding in parallelism with one another. Thus he marks an advance in the Old Testament in the discrimination of *types*, corresponding with the distinguishing of types in the New Testament by Neander and Schmid.§ Schmid and Oehler combine in giving us organic systems of Biblical Theology as the highest point of Exegetical Theology, and with a distinction of types combining in a higher unity, and with Neander introduce a new epoch in Biblical Theology.|

* *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 1853, 4th ed., 1869. Translated into English, but without the invaluable *definitions* at the beginning of the sections. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1870.

† *Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1845.

‡ *Theologie des Alten Test.*, 2 Bde., II. Aufl., 1883.

§ His work has been translated into English in Clark's Lib., Edin., 2 vols., 1874; also revised and edited by Prof. G. E. Day. New York, 1883.

| The posthumous Lectures of Prof. Hävernicks, of Königsburg, on *Bibl. Theo*

On the other hand, F. Baur attempts to account for the peculiarities of the New Testament writings, as well as the origin of the Christian church, by his theory of the two opposing forces, the Judaistic and the Pauline, gradually uniting in the later writings of the New Testament in the second century into a more conservative and mediating theology, reaching its culmination in the Johannean writings, which are at an elevation above the peculiarities of the earlier stages of development. Biblical Theology is to Baur a purely historical discipline. In it the scriptural doctrine loosens itself from the fetters of the dependent relation in which it has been to the dogmatic systems of the church, and will more and more emancipate itself therefrom. New Testament Theology is that part of Historical Theology which has to present the doctrine of Jesus as well as the doctrinal systems resting upon it, in the order and connection of their historical development, according to the peculiar characteristics by which they are distinguished from one another, so far as this can be ascertained in the New Testament writings. Baur strongly objects to the idea of Neander and his school, that there is a *unity* in the variety of New Testament doctrines, which is the very opposite of his own view of a development out of contrasted and irreconcilable forces. Baur justly admits that the doctrines of Jesus must be at the foundation. The doctrine of Jesus must be drawn chiefly from the

d. Alt. Test., were published by Hahn in 1848, and a revised edition by Hermann Schultz in 1863, but are of no special value. Prof. H. Messner, of Berlin, in 1856, published *Die Lehre der Apostel* in the spirit of Neander. He begins with the system of James, Jude, and Peter; makes the discourse of Stephen a transition to the Pauline system, and gives the theology of Paul with that of the Epistle to the Hebrews appended, and concludes with the theology of John and the Apocalypse. He finally gives a searching comparison of the various forms of apostolic doctrine, seeking a unity in the variety.

discourses in Matthew, yet these not in their present form, as given in our Greek Gospel, but in their original form, to be determined by sound criticism. The essential principle of Christianity and of the doctrine of Jesus is the *ethical* principle; the law is not only enlarged by the Gospel, but the Gospel is contrasted with it. They are related as the outer to the inner, the act to the intention, the letter to the spirit. "Christianity presented in its original form in the doctrine of Jesus is a religion breathing the *purest moral* spirit." "This moral element, as it is made known in the simple sentences of the sermon on the mount, is the purest and clearest content of the doctrine of Jesus, the real kernel of Christianity, to which all the rest, however significant, stands in a more or less secondary and accidental relation. It is *that* on which the rest must be built, for however little it has the form and color of that Christianity which has become historical, yet it is in itself the entire Christianity." *

Neander and Baur, the great historical rivals of our century, thus attain the same end in John's contemplation which reconciles and harmonizes all the previous points of view. According to Neander and his school, the variety therein attains a higher unity; according to Baur and his school, the contradictory positions are reconciled in an ideal spirit which is indifferent to all mere externals. The Lectures of Baur were published after his death in 1864.†

Prof. Reuss, of Strasburg, in 1852 issued his History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age.‡ In the Preface to the last edition he states :

* *New. Test. Theologie*, p. 64, *seq.*

† *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentliche Theologie.*

‡ *Histoire de la Theologie Chretienne au Siècle Apostolique*, 2 tomes. A

"The unity which has been sought at the end of the work, I have dwelt upon where the history itself points to it—namely, at the beginning. It is in the primitive Gospel, in the teaching of the Lord Himself, that we find the focus of those rays which the prism of analysis places before us, separately in their different shades of color. As it has not been my design to produce a critical or theoretical, but a historical work, I have necessarily followed the natural evolution of the ideas, nor did it come within my province to violate this order to subserve any practical purpose, however lawful."

It is the distinguishing merit of Reuss that he sets the Biblical Theology of the New Testament in the midst of the religious movements of the times. He begins with a discussion of Judaism, *e. g.*, the theology of the Jews subsequent to the Exile and in its various sects, then considers John the Baptist and the Forerunners. In the second part he treats of the Gospels; in the third part the Jewish Christian Theology, and in the fourth the Pauline, and in the fifth the theology of John. But the historical method absorbs and overwhelms the inductive, and he justly names his work a History of Christian Theology in Apostolic Times. Standing with the school of Baur in contending for the position of the discipline in Historical Theology, he differs from it in his giving up the reconciliation of contrasts in John's Theology. In the same year, 1852, Lutterbeck,* a Roman Catholic writer, goes even more thoroughly than Reuss into the doctrinal systems in the midst of which Christianity arose: (1) The Heathen systems; (2) The Jewish; (3) The mixed systems and heresies of the apostolic period. He then passes over to the Christian system, distinguishing the various types as did Neander,

translation of the 3d edition into English has been published by Hodder & Stoughton, London, in 2 vols., 1872.

* *Neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffen, Ein Handbuch für älteste Dogmengeschichte und systematische Exegese des Neuen Testaments*, 2 Bände.

and shows their genesis and internal harmony in an able and thorough manner, distinguishing three stages of apostolic doctrine: (1) From the death of Christ to the Apostolic Council, the original type; (2) The time of contrasted views, 50-70; (3) The period of mediation, or the later life of the apostle John, 70-100 A.D.

G. L. Hahn* reacts to the historical ground without distinction of types. B. Weiss† has also been influenced by the conflict between the schools of Neander and Baur to take an intermediate position. He excludes the life of Jesus and the great events of Apostolic history, and also restricts Biblical Theology to the variety of the types of doctrine and abandons the effort for a higher unity. Within the limits chosen by the author his work is elaborate and thorough, and a most valuable addition to the literature, but does not show any progress in his conception of the discipline.

Hermann Schultz, in 1869,‡ laid stress upon the historico-critical method of the school of Baur, yet includes religion as well as dogmatics and ethics in his scheme, excluding the apocryphal books and limiting himself to the canonical writings. His work is elaborate and thorough in its working out of details, but does not show any real progress.§

In his Biblical Theology, Van Oosterzee,|| in 1870, does not enter much into details or present a thoroughgoing

* *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, vol. I., 1854.

† *Lehrb. d. Bibl. Theo. d. N. T.*, 1868, 3te Aufl., 1880. Translated into English in Clark's Library, vol. i., 1883.

‡ *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 2te Aufl., 1878.

§ In his last edition Schultz has gone over to the school of Wellhausen, and reconstructed his Biblical Theology so as to distinguish a Prophetic and Levitical period, and abandons the historical development, and thus like Ewald declines from the advanced position of F. Baur and Neander.

|| *Bibl. Theo. of the New Test.* Translated from the Dutch by M. J. Evans. N. Y., 1876.

comparison, yet he seeks the *higher unity* as well as the individual types. He regards Biblical Theology as a part of Historical Theology, but his treatment of it is after the style of Neander. He does not estimate the life of Jesus and the religious life of the apostolic church. He neglects the religious and ethical elements, and as a whole must be regarded as falling behind the later treatises on the subject. Bernard * issued a brief work in the spirit of Neander, but without any advance in the working out of the theme.

Ewald (H.) in 1871-6 issued his massive and profound work.† The first volume treats of the doctrine of the word of God, the second of the doctrine of God, the third of the world and man, the fourth of the life of men and the kingdom of God. These divisions of the subject-matter are simple and comprehensive, and the treatment, especially in the first volume, admirable and profound, and yet the historical side of the discipline falls too much into the background; so that we must regard the work on the whole as a decline from the higher position of the schools of Neander and Baur. Indeed Old Testament Theology was not yet ripe for the treatment that was necessary to bring it up to the standard of the New Testament Theology. The older views of the Biblical writings of the Old Testament, both of the Critical and Traditional sides, were too mechanical and uncertain. There was needed a great overturning of the soil of the Old Testament by a radical critical study of its religion and history such as Strauss had made in the New Testament. Such a treat-

* *Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament*, Bampton Lectures, 1864, 2d edit., 1867.

† *Lehre der Bibel von Gott oder Theologie des Alten und Neuen Bundes*, 4 Bde.

ment was prepared by Vatke, Reuss, and Graf,* but first carried out by Kuenen,† and then by Julius Wellhausen.‡ These distinguished three great codes and sections in the Pentateuch, and found two antagonistic elements in the Old Testament Scriptures, and ventured upon a radical reconstruction of Old Testament Religion and History and established a large and enthusiastic school.

Kuenen, in his history of Israel, finds in the period from Hezekiah to the exile two antagonistic parties in perpetual conflict. The one is the more popular and conservative party advocating the ancient religion of the land, the local sanctuaries and image worship, together with various deities. This party was formed by the majority of the prophets and the older Levitical priests. The other party was the progressive and the reforming party aiming at a central and exclusive sanctuary and the worship of Jehovah alone in a more spiritual manner. This was the priestly party at Jerusalem formed by the prophets Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah. These parties struggled with varying fortunes until the exile. The reforming party issued as their programme the Deuteronomic code. Independent of them, yet at times merging with the party of progress, was the Chokma tendency.§ The struggle was thus "between Jahvism and Jewish nationality."¶ During the exile, influenced by Ezekiel's programme of reconstruction,

* Hitzig, in his posthumous *Vorlesungen über Bibl. Theo. und Mess. Weissagungen*, 1880, treats first of the principle of the religion of the Old Testament, e.g., the idea of God as a holy spirit. This developed itself in two directions: *Universalism* and *Particularism*. The book is defective in method, arbitrary in judgment, and shows no real progress beyond this distinction of types.

† *Religion of Israel*, 1869-70 (in the Dutch language, translated 1873-5 into English) and by his *Prophecy and Prophecy in Israel*, 1877.

‡ *Gesch. Israel*, Bd. I., 1878, 2 Ausg., 1883.

§ *Religion of Israel*, ii., chap. 6.

| In *l. c.*, I., p. 70.

the priestly legislation of the middle books of the Pentateuch was composed, and Ezra introduced it to the new commonwealth at Jerusalem.

"Ezra and Nehemiah assailed as much the independence of the religious life of the Israelites, which found utterance in prophecy, as the more tolerant judgment upon the heathen to which many inclined; their reformation was in other words anti-prophetic and anti-universalistic. History teaches us that the Reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah nearly coincides in date with the disappearance of Prophecy in Israel." (II., p. 240, *seq.*).*

The three great codes were afterward combined in the Pentateuch. Thus this scheme of reconstruction of Old Testament legislation and religion adopted by such a large number of critics resembles in a most remarkable degree the reconstruction of the New Testament history and doctrine proposed by Baur; namely, two antagonistic and irreconcilable forces resulting in a final system above them both.

With reference to the three codes and sections of the Pentateuch, evangelical men should not fail to recognize them. They correspond in a remarkable manner with the various presentations of the Gospel of Jesus. And so the great types such as we find in the Prophetic, Priestly, and Chokma writings are clearly defined, corresponding closely with the Petrine, Pauline, and the Johannean types of the New Testament. The correspondence goes even farther, in that, as the Jewish Christian type is divided in twain by the gospels of Mark and Matthew, and by the apostles Peter and James, so the prophetic type breaks up into the Psalmists and the

* See the articles: *The Theory of Professor Kuenen*, by the Rev. T. W. Chambers, D.D., in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1880, p. 304, *seq.*; *The Critical Theories of Julius Wellhausen*, by Prof. Henry P. Smith, in the same *Review*, 1882, p. 357, *seq.*; and *Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism*, in the same *Review*, 1883, p. 69, *seq.*

Prophets. The three great types must be recognized in the Old Testament from the *Thora* onward, extending through the histories, prophets, and poetical books and other writings, as in the New Testament the types are recognized from the gospels through the book of Acts to the Epistles and Apocalypse. The school of Kuenen and Wellhausen regard them as antagonistic as are the parties in Church and State in our own day, the history and religion having a purely natural development. Evangelical exegetes will, in the main, deal with the Old Testament as they have done with the New Testament under the lead of Neander, Schmid, and Oehler, and recognize the variation of type in order to a more complete and harmonious representation as they combine under the supernatural influence of a divine progressive revelation.

Recent works on New Testament theology have devoted themselves more to a study of the particular types with reference to their psychological development out of the condition of mind and historical position and training of the various New Testament writers. Immer* restates the positions of the school of Baur, but with the important advance that he traces the various stages of the development of the Pauline theology itself with considerable industry and skill, so Pfleiderer,† Sabatier,‡

* *Theo. d. N. T.*, 1877.

† It was natural that the theology of Paul should receive at first the closest examination. Usteri, *Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes*, 1829, 6th Aufl., 1851, is a classic work; followed by Dahne, *Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes*, 1835; Baur, *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, 1845, 2d Aufl., 1866; Opitz (H.), *System des Paulus*, 1874.

‡ *L'Apostre Paul esquisse d'une Histoire de sa Pensée*, 1870. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée, 1881, Paris. He finds the origin of Paul's theology in the combination of the three facts—his Pharisaism which he left, the Christian church which he entered, and the conversion by which he passed from the one to the other. He then traces the genesis of the Pauline theology in three periods.

and especially Holsten,* who strives to derive the peculiarity of the doctrine of Paul out of his consciousness rather than from the vision and Christophany on the way to Damascus.† Thoma‡ strives to explain the theology of John as a development out of the struggling doctrinal conceptions of Judaism and Alexandrianism.§ These, then, are the two points on which Biblical Theology may be expected to make a new advance: (1) in the relation of the variety of types to one another and to their unity; (2) in the origin and development of the particular types.

We have thus far distinguished two stages in the development of the discipline of Biblical Theology. Gabler first stated its *historical* principle and distinguished it from Systematic Theology. Neander then distinguished its variety of types, and Schmid stated its exegetical principle and distinguished it from Historical Theology as a part of Exegetical Theology. We are about to enter upon a third stage in which Biblical Theology, as the point of contact of Exegetical Theology with the three other great sections of Theological Encyclopædia, will show the true relation of its various types to one organic system of divine truth, will trace them

* *Zum Evangelium des Paulus u. d. Petrus*, 1868; *Evangelium des Paulus*, 1880.

† Prof. A. B. Bruce, of Glasgow, in his article on *Paul's Conversion and the Pauline Gospel*, in the *Pres. Review*, 1880, p. 652, *seq.*, ably discusses these theories, and shows the connection of Pauline theology with the supernatural event of the Christophany and the apostle's consequent conversion.

‡ *Die Genesis des Johannes Evangelium*, 1882.

§ Other special writers upon particular types are: Riehm's *Lehrbegriff des Hebræerbriefts*, 1867; K. R. Kostlin, *Lehrbegriff des Evang. und der Briefe Johannes*, 1845; B. Weiss, *Patrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1855; *Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, 1862; Zschokke, *Theologie der Propheten des Alten Testaments*, 1877; W. Schmidt, *Lehrgehalt des Jacobus Briefes*, 1869; H. Gebhardt, *Lehrbegriff der Apokalypses*, 1873.

each and all to their supernatural origin and direction as distinguished from the ordinary types of human thinking; and thus will act as a conserving and a reconciling force in the theology of the last quarter of our century. Step by step Biblical Theology has advanced in the progress of exegetical studies. It is and must be an aggressive discipline. It has a fourfold work: of removing the rubbish that Scholasticism has piled upon the Word of God; of battling with Rationalism for its principles, methods, and products; of resisting the seductions of Mysticism; and of building up an impregnable system of sacred truth. As the Jews returning from their exile built the walls of Jerusalem, working with one hand, and with the other grasping a weapon, so must Biblical scholars build up the system of Biblical Theology, until they have erected a structure of Biblical truth containing the unity in the variety of Divine Revelation, a structure compacted through the fitting together of all the gems of sacred truth according to the adaptation of a divine prearrangement.

IV. THE POSITION AND IMPORTANCE OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

Having considered the origin and history of Biblical Theology, we are now prepared to show its position and importance, and define it as to its idea, method, and system. (1) *The idea of Biblical Theology.*—Biblical Theology is that theological discipline which presents the theology of the Bible in its historical formation within the canonical writings. The discipline limits itself strictly to the theology of the *Bible*, and thus excludes from its range the theology of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings of the Jewish and Christian sects, the ideas of the various external religious parties, and

the religions of the world brought in contact with the people of God at different periods in their history. It is true that these must come into consideration for comparative purposes in order to show their influence positively and negatively upon the development of Biblical doctrine; for the Biblical religion is a religion in the midst of a great variety of religions of the world, and its distinctive features can be shown only after the elimination of the features that are common with other religions. We must show from the historical circumstances, the psychological preparations, and all the conditioning influences, how far the origin and development of the particular type and the particular stage of religious development of Israel and the Church were influenced by these external forces. We must find the supernatural influence that originated and maintained the Biblical types and the Biblical religion as distinct and separate from all other religions. And then these other religious forces will not be employed as co-ordinate factors with the Biblical material, as is done by Reuss, Schwegler, and Kuenen, who make Biblical Theology simply a history of religion, or of doctrine in the times of the Bible and in the Jewish nation. Rather these theological conceptions of other religions will be seen to be subordinate factors as influencing Biblical Theology from *without*, and not from *within*, as presenting the external occasions and conditions of its growth, and not its normal and regulative principles. The Biblical limit will be maintained; for the Biblical material stands apart by itself, in that the theology therein contained is the theology of a divine Revelation, and thus distinguished from all other theologies, both as to its origin and its development; for they give us either the products of natural religion in various normal and abnormal sys-

tems, originating and developing under the influence of unguided or partially guided human religious strivings, or else are apostasies or deflections from the religion of revelation in its various stages of development.

The discipline we have defined as presenting the *Theology* of the Bible. It is true that the term Biblical Theology is ambiguous as being too broad, having been employed as a general term including Biblical Introduction, Hermeneutics, and so on. And yet we must have a broad term, for we cannot limit our discipline to *Dogmatics*, for Biblical Dogmatics, as rightly conceived, is a part of Systematic Theology, being *a priori* and deductive in method. Biblical Dogmatics deduces the dogmas from the Biblical material and arranges them in an *a priori* dogmatic system, presenting not so much the doctrines of the *Bible* in their simplicity and in their concrete form as they are given in the Scriptures themselves, but such doctrines as may be fairly derived from the Biblical material by the logical process, or can be gained by setting the Bible in the midst of philosophy and church tradition. We cannot deny to this department the propriety of using the name *Biblical* Dogmatics or even Biblical Theology. For where a Dogmatic system derives its chief or only material from the Scriptures there is force in its claim to be Biblical Theology. We do not, therefore, use the term Biblical Theology as applied to our discipline with the implication that a dogmatic system derived from the Bible is *non-Biblical* or *not sufficiently* Biblical, but as a term which has come to be applied to the discipline which we are now distinguishing from Biblical Dogmatics. Biblical Theology, in the sense of our discipline, and as distinguished from Biblical Dogmatics, cannot take a step beyond the Bible itself, or, indeed, beyond the particular writing or author under consideration at

the time. Biblical Theology has to do only with the sacred author's conceptions, and has nothing whatever to do with the legitimate *logical* consequences. It is not to be assumed that either the author or his generation argued out the consequences of their statements, still less discerned them by intuition; although, on the other hand, we must always recognize that the religion and, indeed, the entire theology of a period or an author may be far wider and more comprehensive than the record or records that have been left of it; and that, in all cases, Biblical Theology will give us the *minimum* rather than the *maximum* of the theology of a period or author. But, on the other hand, we must also estimate the fact that this *minimum* is the inspired authority to which alone we can appeal. The only consequences with which Biblical Theology has to do are those historical ones that later Biblical writers gained in their advanced knowledge of divine revelation, those conclusions that are true historically—whatever our subjective conclusions may be as to the legitimate logical results of their statements. And even here the interpretation and use of later writers are not to be assigned to the authors themselves or the theology of their times. We would therefore urge that the term Biblical Dogmatics should be applied to that part of Dogmatics which rests upon the Bible and derives its material from the Bible by the legitimate use of its principles. Dogmatics as a theological discipline, in our judgment, is far wider than the Biblical material that is employed by the dogmatician. The Biblical material should be the normal and regulative material, but the dogmatician will make use of the deductions from the Bible and other authorities that the church has made in the history of doctrine and incorporated in her creeds, or preserved in the doctrinal treat-

ises of the theologians. He will also make use of right reason, and of philosophy, and science, and the religious consciousness as manifest in the history of the church and in the Christian life of the day. It is all-important that the various sources should be carefully discriminated, and the Biblical material set apart by itself in Biblical Dogmatics, lest in the commingling of material *that* should be regarded as Biblical which is *non*-Biblical, or *extra* Biblical, or *contra* Biblical, as has so often happened in the working of ecclesiastical tradition. And, even then, when Biblical Dogmatics has been distinguished in Systematic Theology, it should be held apart from Biblical Theology, for Biblical Dogmatics is the point of contact of Systematic Theology with Exegetical Theology, and Biblical Theology is the point of contact of Exegetical Theology with Systematic Theology, each belonging to its own distinctive branch of theology, with its characteristic methods and principles. That system of theology which would anxiously confine itself to supposed Biblical material, to the neglect of the material presented by philosophy, science, literature, art, comparative religion, the history of doctrine, the symbols, the liturgies, and the life of the church, and the pious religious consciousness of the individual or of Christian society, must be extremely defective, unscientific, and cannot make up for its defects by an appeal to the Scriptures and a claim to be Biblical. None of the great systematic theologians, from the most ancient times have ever proposed any such course. It has been the resort of the feeble Pietists in Germany, and of the narrower Evangelicalism of Great Britain and America, doomed to defeat and destruction, for working in such contracted lines.

We do not, therefore, present Biblical Theology as a

substitute for Systematic Theology. Systematic Theology is more comprehensive than Biblical Theology can ever be. But we urge the importance of Biblical Theology in order to the important distinction that should be made, in the first place, between the Biblical sources and all other sources of Theology, and then, in the second place, to distinguish between the Biblical Theology as presented in the Scriptures themselves, and Biblical Dogmatics which makes legitimate deductions and applications of the Biblical material.

But Biblical Theology is wider than the doctrines of the Bible. It includes *Ethics* also. Here the school of Baur and even Weiss and Van Oosterzee would stop. But Schmid, Schultz, and Oehler are correct in taking Biblical Theology to include *religion* as well as doctrines and morals, that is, those historic persons, facts, and relations which embody religious, dogmatical, and ethical ideas. This discrimination is important in Systematic Theology, but it is indispensable in Biblical Theology where everything is still in the *concrete*. Thus a fundamental question in the theology of the New Testament, is what to do with the life of Jesus. The life of Jesus is, as Schmid shows, the fruitful source of His doctrine, and a theology which does not estimate it, lacks foundation and vital power. The life of Jesus may indeed be regarded from two distinct points of view, as a biographical, or a doctrinal and religious subject. The birth of Jesus may be regarded as a pure historical fact or as an incarnation. His suffering and death may be historical subjects, or as expressing atonement. His life may afford biographical matter or be considered as religious, doctrinal, and ethical, in that His life was a new religious force, a redemptive influence and an ethical example. Biblical Theology will have to consider, there-

fore, what the life of Jesus presents for its various departments. And so the great fact of Pentecost, the Christophanies to Peter, Paul, and John, and the apostolic council at Jerusalem must all be brought into consideration. And in the Old Testament we must consider the various covenants and the religious institutions and laws that were grouped about them. Without religion, with its persons, events, and institutions, Biblical Theology would lose its *foundations*, and without ethical results it would fail of its rich fruitage.

We state, furthermore, that the discipline presents the theology of the Bible in its *historical formation*. This does not imply that it limits itself to the consideration of the various particular conceptions of the various authors, writings, and periods, as Weiss and even Oehler maintain, but with Schmid, Messner, Van Oosterzee after Neander it seeks the *unity in the variety*; ascertains the roots of the divergencies, traces them each in their separate historical development, shows them co-operating in the formation of one organic system. For Biblical Theology would not present a mere conglomerate of heterogeneous material in a bundle of miscellaneous Hebrew literature, but would ascertain whether there is not some principle of organization; and it finds that principle in a supernatural divine revelation and communication of redemption in the successive covenants of grace, extending through many centuries, operating through many minds, and in a great variety of literary styles, employing all the faculties of man and all the types of human nature, in order to the accomplishment of one massive, all-embracing and everlasting *Divine Word* adapted to every age, every nation, every type of character, every temperament of mankind; the whole world.

(2) *The Place of Biblical Theology.*—Biblical Theology belongs to the department of Exegetical Theology as a higher exegesis completing the exegetical process, and presenting the essential material and principles of the other departments of theology.

The boundaries between Exegetical and Historical Theology are not so sharply defined as those between either of them and Systematic Theology. All Historical Theology has to deal with *sources*, and in this respect must consider them in their variety and unity as well as development; and hence many theologians combine Exegetical Theology and Historical Theology under one head—Historical Theology. It is important, however, to draw the distinction, for this reason. The *sources* of Biblical Theology are in different relation from the sources of a history of doctrine, inasmuch as they constitute a body of divine revelation, and in this respect to be kept distinct from all other *sources*, even cotemporary and of the same nation. They have an absolute authority which no other sources can have. The stress is to be laid less upon their historical development than upon them as an organic body of revelation, and this stress upon their importance as *sources* not only for historical development, but also for dogmatic reconstruction and practical application, requires that the special study of them should be exalted to a separate discipline and a distinct branch of theology.

Now in the department of Exegetical Theology, Biblical Theology occupies the highest place, the latest and crowning achievement. It is a higher exegesis completing the Exegetical Process. All other branches of Exegetical Theology are presupposed by it. The Biblical Literature must first be studied as sacred literature. All questions of date of writing, integrity, con-

struction, style, and authorship must be determined by the principles of the Higher Criticism. Biblical Canonics determines the extent and authority of the various writings that are to be regarded as composing the sacred canon, and discriminates them from all other writings by the criticism of the believing spirit enlightened and guided by the Holy Spirit in the Church. Biblical Textual Criticism ascertains the true text of the writings in the study of MSS. and versions and citations, and seeks to present it in its pure primitive forms. Biblical Hermeneutics lays down the rules of Biblical Interpretation, and Biblical Exegesis applies these rules to the various particular passages of the sacred Scriptures. Now Biblical Theology accepts all these rules and results thus determined and applied. It is not its office to go into the detailed examination of the verse and the section, but it must accept the results of a thorough exegesis and criticism in order to advance thereon and thereby to its own proper work of higher exegesis; namely, rising from the comparison of verse with verse, and paragraph with paragraph, where simple exegesis is employed, to the still more difficult and instructive comparison of writing with writing, author with author, period with period, until by generalization and synthesis the theology of the Bible is attained as an organic whole.

Biblical Theology is thus the culmination of Exegetical Theology, and must be in an important relation to all other branches of theology. For Historical Theology it presents the great principles of the various periods of history, the fundamental and controlling tendencies which, springing from human nature and operating in all the religions of the world, find their proper expression and satisfaction in the normal development of

Divine Revelation, but which, breaking loose from these salutary bonds, become perverted and distorted into abnormal forms, producing false and heretical principles and radical errors. And so in the Biblical unity of these tendencies Biblical Theology presents the ideal unity for the church and the Christian in all times of the world's history. For Systematic Theology, Biblical Theology affords the holy material to be used in Biblical Apologetics, Dogmatics, and Ethics, the fundamental and controlling material out of which that systematic structure must be built which will express the intellectual and moral needs of the particular age, fortify the church for offence and defence in the struggles with the anti-Christian world, and give unity to its life, its efforts, and its dogmas in all ages. For Practical Theology it presents the various types of religious experience and of doctrinal and ethical ideas which must be skillfully applied to the corresponding differences of type which exist in all times, in all churches, in all lands, and indeed in all religions and races of mankind. Biblical Theology is indeed the *Irenic* force which will do much to harmonize the antagonistic forces and various departments of theology, and bring about that *toleration within the church* which is the *greatest* requisite of our times.

(3) *Method of Biblical Theology.*—The method employed by Biblical Theology is a blending of the genetic and the inductive methods. The method of Biblical Theology arises out of the nature of the discipline and its place in Theological Encyclopædia. As it must show the Theology of the Bible in its historic formation, ascertain its genesis, the laws of its development from germinal principles, the order of its progress in every individual writer, and from writer to writer and age to

age in the successive periods and in the whole Bible, it must employ the genetic method. It is this genesis which is becoming more and more important in our discipline, and is indeed the chief point of discussion in our day. Can all be explained by a natural genesis, or must the supernatural be called in? The various Rationalistic efforts to explain the genesis of the Biblical types of doctrine in their variety and their combination in a unity in the Scriptures are extremely unsatisfactory and unscientific. With all the resemblances to other religions, the Biblical Religion is *so* different that its differences must be explained, and these can only be explained by the claims of the sacred writers themselves, that God Himself in various forms of Theophany and Christophany revealed Himself to initiate and to guide the religion of the Bible in its various movements and stages. Mosaism centres about the great Theophany of Sinai, as Christianity centres about the *Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, and the life, death, ascension, and second advent therein involved. It is now the problem of Biblical Theology as it has traced the Theology of the Jewish Christian type to the Theophany of Pentecost, and of the Pauline to the Christophany on the way to Damascus, so to trace the Johannean type and the various Old Testament types to corresponding supernatural initiation. The Johannean type may be traced to the Christophanies of Patmos.* The Old Testament is full of Theophanies which originate particular Covenants and initiate all the great movements in the history of Israel.

* We regard the Apocalypse as the earliest of the Johannean writings. The Christophanies therein described had been granted to the apostle prior to the composition of the Gospel, so that the Gospel was written under their influence still more even than under the recollection of the association with Jesus during His earthly ministry.

As it has to exhibit the unity in the variety of the various conceptions and statements of the writings and authors of every different type, style, and character, and by comparison generalize to its results, Biblical Theology must employ the *inductive* method and the synthetic process. This inductive method is the true method of Exegetical Theology. The details of Exegesis have been greatly enriched by this method during the present century, especially by the labors of German divines, and in most recent times by numerous laborers in Great Britain and America. But the majority of the laborers in Biblical Theology have devoted their strength to the working out of the historical principle of our discipline. Yet within the various types and special doctrines a large amount of higher exegesis has been accomplished by Weiss, Riehm, Schultz, Diestel, Weiffenbach, and others. But the *highest* exegesis in the comparison of types and their arrangement in an organic system with a unity and determining principle out of which all originate and to which they return their fruitage, remains comparatively undeveloped. Indeed the study of the particular types, especially in the Old Testament, must be conducted still further and to more substantial results ere the *highest* exegesis can fulfil its task.

The *genetic* and the *inductive* methods must indeed combine in order to the best results. They must co-operate in every writing, in the treatment of every author, of every period and of the whole. They must blend in harmony throughout. On their proper combination the excellence of a system of Biblical Theology depends. An undue emphasis of either will make the system defective and inharmonious.

(4) *The system and divisions of Biblical Theology.*—

These are determined partly by the material itself, but chiefly by the *methods* of dealing with it. We must make the divisions so simple that they may be adapted to the most elementary conceptions, and yet comprehensive enough to embrace the most fully developed conceptions, and also so as to be capable of a simple and natural subdivision in the advancing periods. In order to this we must find the dominant principle of the entire revelation and make our historical and our inductive divisions in accordance with it. The Divine revelation itself might seem to be this determining factor, so that we should divide historically by the historical development of that revelation, and synthetically by its most characteristic features. But this divine revelation was made to intelligent man and involved thereby an active appropriation of it on his part, both as to its form and substance, so that from this point of view we might divide historically in accordance with the great epochs of the appropriation of divine revelation, and synthetically by the characteristic features of that appropriation. From either of these points of view, however, there might be—there naturally would be, an undue emphasis of the one over against the other at the expense of a complete and harmonious representation. We need some principle that will enable us to combine the subject and the object—God and man—in the unity of its conception. Such a principle is happily afforded us in the Revelation itself, so distinctly brought out that it has been historically recognized in the names given to the two great sections of the Scriptures, the Old and the New Testaments or Covenants. The *Covenant* is the fundamental principle of the divine revelation, to which the divine revelation commits its treasures and from which man continually draws upon them. The *Covenant* has a great

variety of forms in the sacred Scriptures, but the most essential and comprehensive form is that assumed in the Mosaic Covenant at Sinai which becomes the *Old Covenant*, pre-eminently, and over against that is placed the *New Covenant* of the Messiah Jesus Christ, so that the great historical division becomes the *Theology of the Old Covenant* and the *Theology of the New Covenant*.

The *Covenant* must also determine the synthetic divisions. The Covenant is a union and communion effected between God and Man. It involves a *personal* relationship which it originates and maintains by certain events and institutions. This is Religion. The Covenant and its relations, man apprehends as an intelligent being with meditation, reflection, and reasoning. All this he comprehends in *doctrines*, which he apprehends and believes and maintains as his faith. These doctrines will embrace the three general topics of *God*, of *Man*, and of *Redemption*. The Covenant still further has to do with man as a *moral* being, imposing moral obligations upon him with reference to God and man and the creatures of God. All these are comprehended under the general term *Ethics*. These distinctions apply equally well to all the periods of divine revelation; they are simple, they are comprehensive, they are all-pervading. Indeed they interpenetrate one another, so that many prefer to combine the three under the one term Theology, and then treat of God and Man and the union of God and Man in redemption, in each division by itself with reference to religious, ethical, and doctrinal questions; but it is easier and more thorough-going to keep them apart, even at the expense of looking at the same thing at times successively from three different points of view.

From these more general divisions we may advance to

such subdivisions, as may be justified in the successive periods of Biblical Theology, both on the historic and synthetic sides, and, indeed, without anticipation.

The relation between the historical and the synthetic divisions may be variously viewed. Thus Ewald, in his Biblical Theology, makes the historical divisions so entirely subordinate as to treat of each topic of theology by itself in its history. The difficulty of this method is, that it does not sufficiently show the *relative* development of doctrines, and their constant action and reaction upon one another in the successive periods. It may be of advantage for thoroughness in any one department to take that topic by itself and work it out in its historical development; but in a comprehensive course of Biblical Theology the interests of the whole cannot be sacrificed for the particular sections. They must be adjusted to one another in their historical development in the particular periods. Hence it will be necessary to determine in *each period*: (1) the development of each particular doctrine by itself, as it starts from the general principle, and then (2) to sum up the general results before passing over into another period.

It will also be found that Theology does not unfold in one single line, but in several, from several different points of view, and in accordance with several different types. It will therefore be necessary on the one side ever to keep these types distinct, and yet to show their unity as one organism. Thus in the Pentateuch the great types of the Jahvist, the two Elohist, and the Deuteronomist, will be distinctly traced until they combine in the one organism of our Pentateuch, presenting the fundamental *Thorah* of Israel. In the historical books the Prophetic and Levitical historians will be distinguished and compared for a higher unity. The three

great types—the psalmists, wise men, and prophets—will be discriminated, the variations within the types carefully studied and compared, and then the types themselves brought into harmony, and at last the whole Old Testament presented as an organic whole. The New Testament will then be considered in the forerunners of Christ; then the four types in which the evangelists present the Theology of Jesus, each by itself, in comparison with the others, and as a whole. The Apostolic Theology will be traced from its origin at Pentecost in its subsequent division into the three great types, the Jewish Christian of Peter, James and Jude; the Gentile Christian of Paul, Luke, and the epistle to the Hebrews; and, finally, the Johannean of the gospels, epistle, and apocalypse of John; and the whole considered in the unity of the New Testament; and then, as the last thing, the whole Bible will be considered, showing not only the unity of the theology of Christ and His apostles, but also of the unity of the theology of Moses and David and all the prophets, with the theology of Jesus and His apostles, as each distinct theology takes its place in the advancing system of divine revelation, all conspiring to the completion of a perfect, harmonious, symmetrical organism, the infallible expression of God's will, character, and being to His favored children. At the same time, the religion of each period and of the whole Bible will be set in the midst of the other religions of the world, so that it will appear as the divine grace ever working in humanity, and its sacred records as the true lamp of the world, holding forth the light of life to all the nations of the world.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SCRIPTURES AS A MEANS OF GRACE.

THE essential principle of the Calvinistic system of theology is redemption by the divine grace alone. The Reformed churches have ever been distinguished for their intense interest in the covenant of grace. Sometimes the divine grace has been hardened by an undue stress upon the sovereignty of it, so that sovereignty has taken the place of the divine grace as the central principle of theology in some of the scholastic systems; and sometimes the divine grace has been softened by an undue emphasis upon the Fatherhood of God. But even in these more extreme tendencies of Calvinism the essential principle of the divine grace alone has not been abandoned, however little any of the systems have comprehended the richness and the fulness of the "grace of God that bringeth salvation" (Titus ii. 11).

Redemption by the divine grace alone is the banner principle of the Reformed churches, designed to exclude the uncertainty and arbitrariness attached to all human instrumentalities and external agencies. As the banner principle of the Lutheran Reformation was justification by faith alone excluding any merit or agency of human works, so the Calvinistic principle excluded any inherent efficacy, in human nature or in external remedies, for overcoming the guilt of sin and working redemption.

In these two principles lie the chief merits and the chief defects of the two great churches of the Reformation. Intermediate between these principles of faith alone and grace alone, lies a third principle, which is the divine word alone. This principle we conceive to have been emphasized in the Reformation of Great Britain and especially in the Puritan churches. The Word of God has been called the formal principle of Protestantism over against faith alone, the material principle, and it has been said that the Reformed churches have laid more stress upon the formal principle, while the Lutheran churches have laid more stress upon the material principle. This does not, in our judgment, correspond with the facts of the case. Rather is it true that in the three great churches of the Reformation, the three principles, faith, grace, and the divine word, were emphasized over against the errors of Rome; but these churches differed in the relative importance they ascribed to one of these three principles of the Reformation in its relation to the other two. The Word of God is the intermediate principle where faith and grace meet. The Word of God gives faith its appropriate object. The Word of God is the appointed instrument or means of grace.

I. THE GOSPEL IN THE SCRIPTURES.

The Word of God as a means of grace, as a principle of the Reformation, has, however, its technical meaning. It is not the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in their entirety, but rather the Gospel contained in the Scriptures:

“The Holy Gospel which God Himself first revealed in Paradise, afterwards proclaimed by the Holy Patriarchs and Prophets, and

foreshadowed by the sacrifices and other ceremonies of the law and finally fulfilled by His well-beloved Son." *

The merit of the Lutheran Reformation was that it so distinctly set forth the means by which man appropriates the grace of the Gospel—by faith alone. Faith is the sole appropriating instrument and it becomes a test of the Word of God itself, for faith having appropriated the gospel of the grace of God is enabled to determine therefrom what is the Word of God and what is not the Word of God.

As Luther said :

"All right holy books agree in this that they altogether preach and urge Christ. This also is the true touchstone to test all books, when one sees whether they so urge Christ or not, since every scripture shews Christ (Rom. iii. 21), and St. Paul will know nothing but Christ (1 Cor. ii. 2) ; what does not teach Christ that is not yet apostolical, even if St. Paul or St. Peter taught it ; on the other hand, what preaches Christ would be apostolical, even if Judas, Annas, Pilate, and Herod did it." †

The merit of the Calvinistic Reformation is that it so distinctly set forth the means by which God accomplishes human redemption—by the divine grace of the Gospel. The divine grace is the sole efficacious instrument of redemption, and this grace becomes itself a test of the true Word of God. The divine grace in the Scriptures gives its witness for the Scriptures, discriminating the true canon from all other books.

"We know these books to be canonical, and the sure rule of our faith not so much by the common accord and consent of the church, as by the testimony and inward illumination of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books, upon which, however useful, we cannot found any article of faith." ‡

* *Heidelb. Cat.*, Quest. 19.

† *Vorred. zu Epist. Jacobus* ; Walch, xiv., p. 149.

‡ *French Confession*, Art. iv.

It was the merit of the British Reformation from the beginning that it laid such stress on the divine Word alone, and it was especially in the British churches that this principle received its fullest statement and development. Thus it was a cardinal principle of the Church of England that :

"The Holy Scripture conteyneth all things necessary to salvation ; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith or be thought requisite as necessary to salvation."*

And the Westminster Assembly, in carrying on the work of Reformation, state that :

"The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the Author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the word of God."†

Thus the three principles of the Reformation were emphasized variously in the three great branches of the Reformation. The most serious defect was in the failure of the respective churches properly to combine these principles, and especially in the neglect to define with sufficient care the relation of the divine grace and human faith to the Word of God. Hence the common error into which the churches of the Reformation soon fell, notwithstanding their symbols of faith, namely, the undue emphasis of the external Word of God over against the internal Word of God. But as we have said, "The Protestant principle struggles against this confounding of the means of grace with the divine grace itself, this identification of the instrument and the divine agent, in order therefore to their proper discrimination. This is the problem left unsolved by the Reformation ;

* XXXIX Articles, Art. VI.

† West. Conf., I., 4.

in which the separate churches of Protestantism have been working, and which demands a solution from the church of the nineteenth century. Here the most radical question is that of the divine Word and its relation to the work of the Holy Spirit. This solved, all the other questions will be solved. Herein the churches of the Reformation may be harmonized. The Reformed churches have a peculiar call to grapple bravely with the problem,"* The solution of this problem has been prepared by the exaltation of the Person of Jesus Christ more and more during the last century, as the central principle of theology. He is the Word of God in the Word of God, the eternal Logos. He is the veritable grace of the Gospel in whose person grace concentrates itself for the redemption of mankind. "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John iii. 16).

II. THE GRACE OF GOD IN THE SCRIPTURES.

The grace of God is the free unmerited favor of God in redemption. That grace is bestowed upon men in Jesus Christ, the Saviour. That grace is presented to us by the Holy Spirit and applied by Him to our persons and lives. This application is made in the use of certain external media which are called the means of grace. "The Holy Ghost works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the Holy Gospel, and confirms it by the use of the Holy Sacraments."† Thus the chief of these means of grace, according to our Reformed churches, is the Word of God or the holy Gospel as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

* *Presbyterian Review*, II., p. 573. See p. 159.

† *Heidolb. Cat.*, Quest. 65.

(7) In what sense are the Scriptures means of grace? The Scriptures are means of grace in that they contain the Gospel of Christ which is the power of God unto salvation. The Word of God is called the Sword of the Spirit. For it "is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart" (Heb. iv. 12). It is the lamp of God: "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path" (Ps. cxix. 105). It is the seed of regeneration. For Christians have "been begotten again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, through the Word of God, which liveth and abideth" (1 Pet. i. 23). It is a power of God (*δύναμις*). "For I am not ashamed of the gospel; for it is the power of God unto salvation" (Rom. i. 16), says Paul to the Romans; and he reminds his disciple, Timothy, that "from a babe thou hast known the sacred writings, which are able (*τὰ δυνάμειν*) to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus" (2 Tim. iii. 15). These attributes of the Word of God cannot be brought under the category of Inspiration. The Inspiration of the Word of God is a highly important doctrine, but it must not be so greatly emphasized as to lead us to neglect other and still more important aspects of the Bible. Inspiration has to do with the truthfulness, reliability, accuracy, and authority of the Word of God; the assurance that we have that the instruction contained therein comes from God. But these attributes of the divine Word that we have just mentioned in Biblical terms are deeper and more important than Inspiration. They lie at the root of Inspiration, as among its strongest evidences. They stand out as the most prominent features of the Gospel, independent

of the doctrine of Inspiration. They are features shared by the Bible with the Church and the sacraments which are not inspired and are not infallible. They are those attributes that make the Bible what it is in the life of the people and the faith of the church without raising the question of Inspiration. They ascribe to the Word of God a divine power (*δύναμις*) such as is contained in a seed of life, the movement of the light, the activity of a sword, a power that works redemption, the supreme means of grace. As Robert Boyle well says: *

“Certainly then, if we consider God as the Creator of our souls, and so likeliest to know the frame and springs and nature of his own workmanship, we shall make but little difficulty to believe that in the books written for and addressed to men, he hath employed very powerful and appropriated means to work upon them. And in effect, there is a strange movingness, and, if the epithet be not too bold, a kind of heavenly magic to be found in some passages of Scripture, which is to be found nowhere else.”

(2) What, then, is this power of grace contained in the Scriptures? The power of grace contained in the Scriptures is the redemption made known to us, freely offered to us and effectually applied to us in Jesus Christ, the Saviour. It is the Holy Gospel in the Scriptures, the Word of God written, presenting as in a mirror of wonderful combinations from so many different points of view, the glorious person, character, life, and achievements of the Word of God incarnate, the eternal Logos. Thus the Scriptures give us not merely the history of Israel, but the history of redemption from its earliest prot-evangelium to its fruition in Jesus Christ, the Messiah of history and prophecy. They give us not ordinary biography, but the experience of redeemed men, telling us of

* *Some Considerations touching the Style of the H. Scriptures*, London, 1661, p. 241.

their faith, repentance, spiritual conflicts, and the victories of grace. They give us the grandest poetry of the world and the most sublime moral precepts, but this poetry is composed of the songs of the redeemed; and these precepts are the lessons of those who are wise in the fear of God. They give us oratory, but the orations are prophetic, impassioned utterances of warning and comfort in view of the conflicts of the kingdom of grace and its ultimate triumph, and the preaching of the gospel of a risen and glorified Saviour. They give us essays and epistles, but these are not to enlighten us in the arts and sciences, the speculations of philosophy, and the maxims of commerce, that we may be students in any of the departments of human learning; but they set forth Jesus Christ the Saviour in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Col. ii. 3). Redemption is written all over the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The grace of God that bringeth salvation is the one all-pervading influence. This is the holy substance of the Bible to which all else is the human form in which it is enveloped. Hence the two great divisions of the Bible are called Testaments or Covenants, for they are covenants of grace, the great storehouses in which God has treasured up for all time and for all the world the riches of His grace of redemption.

This grace of Redemption contained in Jesus Christ and conveyed by the Scriptures, is redemption from sin to holiness, from death in guilt to life in blessedness, it is a grace of regeneration and a grace of sanctification.

(a) It is a grace of regeneration. Christians are begotten again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the Word of God which liveth and abideth forever (1 Peter i. 23). Jesus represents His word as a

seed of grain which He Himself plants in the human heart. It springs up in the good soil, first the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear, and grows to maturity amidst all kinds of difficulties and dangers (Mark iv.). It is a germ of life that imparts itself to man's heart and finds therein the prepared ground of its growth. The words of Jesus are spirit and life (John vi. 63); they bear in them the regenerating force of the divine Spirit to quicken the human spirit. The Gospel is no dead letter, it is a living organism, for Christ Jesus is in it, in it all, and in every part of it, and the energy of the divine Spirit pervades it, so that its words are endowed with the omnipotence of divine love and the irresistibility of divine grace. These brief, terse, mysterious, yet simple texts, spread all over the Bible, the inexhaustible supply for the ministers of the Word, those little Bibles, that contain the quintessence of the whole—like the mountain lakes, clear yet reaching to vast depths, like the blue of the sky, charming yet leading to infinite heights—they lay hold of the sinner with the irresistible conviction of his sin, they persuade the penitent of the divine forgiveness; they constrain faith by the energy of redeeming love; they assure the repenting of the adoption of the heavenly Father. There are no other words like the words of God contained in the sacred Scriptures, in which the grace of God appropriates, moulds, and energizes the forms of human speech with creative, generative power.

(b) The grace of redemption contained in the Scriptures is also sanctifying grace. Our Saviour prays the Father for His disciples: "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth" (John xvii. 17). He tells His disciples, "Already ye are clean because of the word which I have spoken unto you" (John xv. 3). The word

of the Gospel is thus a cleansing, sanctifying word: for it is not bare truth appealing to the intellect with logical power, it is not truth clothed with beauty and charming the æsthetic nature of man; but it is truth which is essentially ethical, having moral power, and above all energized by the religious forces, which lay hold of the religious instincts of man, and it leads him to God. This could not be accomplished by the law of commandments contained in ordinances, but only by the Gospel of the grace of God, the soul-transforming words of our holy religion. For the Gospel sets forth Jehovah, the Holy Redeemer, the Father and the Preserver. The Gospel sets forth Jesus Christ as the crucified, risen, and glorified Saviour; presents us His blood and righteousness, throws over our nakedness the robe of His justification, and commands us by the vision of His graces and perfections. The Word of God is a purifying and sanctifying word, because it contains the words of holy men, of a sinless and entirely sanctified Saviour, of a perfect God, the Holy One of Israel.

Human speech is the most wonderful endowment of man. It is the tower of strength in little children, who as babes and sucklings are enabled to praise their God (Ps. viii. 2). It is the means of communication between intelligent beings. It is the means of communication between God and man. Human speech finds its noblest employment by man in prayer, praise, adoration, and preaching of the Gospel of the grace of God. Human speech finds its highest employment by God in being made the instrument of His divine power. It enwraps and conveys to sinful man the divine grace of regeneration and sanctification, it presents the divine Trinity to man in all their redemptive offices, and it is the channel

of communication, of attachment, of communion, of organic union, and everlasting blessedness.

"For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us, to the intent that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world; looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ: who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works." (Titus ii. 11-14).

III. THE EFFICACY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

The Scriptures are means of grace because they have in them the grace of God in Jesus Christ, the grace of regeneration and sanctification. In what, then, lies the *efficacy* of this grace? How are we regenerated and sanctified by the word of redemption in Christ?

"The Spirit of God maketh the reading, but especially the preaching of the Word, an effectual means of enlightening, convincing and humbling sinners, of driving them out of themselves, and drawing them unto Christ; of conforming them to his image, and subduing them to his will; of strengthening them against temptations and corruptions; of building them up in grace, and establishing their hearts in holiness and comfort through faith unto salvation."*

These are faithful and noble words. They ought to become more real to the experience of the men of this generation, where the peril, on the one hand, is in laying too much stress on doctrines of faith, and, on the other, in overrating maxims of morals. Religion, the experience of the divine grace and growth therein, is the chief thing in the use of the Bible and in Christian life. The Holy Scriptures are means of grace, but means that have to be applied by a divine force to make them efficacious. There must be an immediate contact and energetic work-

* *West. Larger Cat.*, Q. 155.

ing upon the readers and hearers and students of the Word by a divine power. The Word of God does not work *ex opere operato*, that is, by its mere use. It is not the mere reading, the mere study of the Bible, that is efficacious. It is not the Bible in the house or in the hands. It is not the Bible read by the eyes and heard by the ears. It is not the Bible committed to memory and recited word for word. It is not the Bible expounded by the teacher and apprehended by the mind of the scholar. All these are but external forms of the Word which enwrap the spiritual substance, the grace of redemption. The casket contains the precious jewels. It must be opened that their lustre and beauty may charm us. The shell contains the nut. It must be cracked or we cannot eat it. The pitcher contains the water; but it must be poured out and drunk to satisfy thirst. The Word of God is effectual only when it has become dynamic, and wrought vital and organic changes, entering into the depths of the heart, assimilating itself to the spiritual necessities of our nature, transforming life and character. This is the purpose of the grace which the Bible contains. This is the power of grace that the Bible exhibits, in holding forth to us Jesus Christ the Saviour. This can be accomplished in us only by the activity of the Holy Spirit working in and through the Scriptures in their use.

IV. THE APPROPRIATION OF THE GRACE OF THE SCRIPTURES.

How then are we to obtain the grace of God contained in the Scriptures and effectually applied unto us by the Holy Spirit as regenerating and sanctifying grace? The universal Protestant answer to this question would be, the grace of the Scriptures is received by

faith. Faith is the hand of the soul which grasps and takes to itself the grace of God. But the nature of this appropriation by faith needs unfolding. The Westminster Shorter Catechism* gives the best answer to the question :

"That the Word may become effectual to salvation, we must attend thereunto with diligence, preparation and prayer; receive it with faith and love, lay it up in our hearts, and practice it in our lives."

(1) The first thing we have to do in our study of the Word of God is to give it our *attention*. Indeed attention is the first requisite of all study and of all work. Diligence and preparation are necessary for all undertakings. No one can fulfil his calling in life without these qualifications. But there is an attention to be given to the Word of God which is peculiar, and vastly higher than the attention given to ordinary avocations of life. It is an attention that is distinguished by prayer, for the study of the Bible is a study of redemption, a search for the power of God in Jesus Christ, a quest for the grace of salvation. Such study must be pointed with prayer, for prayer is the soul's quest after God. Prayer directs the student of the Bible to God in the Bible. It withdraws the attention from all other things that might absorb and attract it, and concentrates it on God. Prayer is the arrow-head that bears the arrow of attention to its mark—God. If the grace of God in the sacred Scriptures, the prevenient grace,—always preceding and anticipating the quest of man, ready to be found, waiting to impart itself to us,—be directed by the Holy Spirit; then the attention of the Bible student, directed by prayer, comes in immediate contact with this

* Quest. 90.

Spirit of grace and receives the power of salvation in personal union with Him. Hence it is that prayer is associated with the Word of God and the Sacraments as a means of grace. It is not a means of grace in the same way as the Word of God, but it is a means of grace of no less importance; for if the Word of God is the instrument, the means by which the grace of God is given to us by the Holy Spirit, prayer is the instrument or means of grace whereby we are able to receive and use the grace of God. It is of prime importance, therefore, that the student of the Bible should be bathed in prayer, and that the spirit of prayer should be the animating influence in all our investigations of the Scriptures. Prayerful attention seeks and finds God, appropriates His grace and the redemptive influence of His Word.

Robert Boyle * well says :

"And surely this consideration of the Bible's being one of the conduit pipes, through which God hath appointed to convey his Truth, as well as graces to his children, should methinks both largely animate us to the searching of the Scriptures, and equally refresh us in it. For as no Instrument is weak in an omnipotent hand : so ought no means to be looked upon as more promising than that which is like to be prospered by Grace, as 'tis devised by Omniscience. We may confidently expect God's blessing upon his own institutions, since we know, that whatsoever we ask according to the will of God, he will give it us, and we can scarce ask anything more agreeable to the will of God, than the competent understanding of that book wherein his will is contained."

In order to emphasize this all-important point and give it its proper position in Biblical study, it will be necessary for us to make some discriminations.

* *Some Considerations touching the Style of the H. Scriptures.* London, 1661, p. 50.

(a) The first work in the scientific and systematic study of the Scriptures is called textual criticism, or the Lower Criticism. It is first of all necessary to know the text in which the Scriptures are contained. Hence the candidates for the ministry devote a large portion of their time to a study of the sacred languages, the various versions and MSS. of the Word of God. All translations must be derived from a faithful study of the originals. It is indispensable that a living church should have a ministry who are brought into immediate contact with the divine originals. The Bible in unknown tongues is a Paradise fenced and barred (see Chaps. III. and VI.). The acquisition of the original text removes the barrier; the translation into the tongue of the people opens the gates, that all who will may enter in. Hence our Protestant churches have made it an article of faith that the Bible must be given to the people in their own tongue, and continually interpreted to the people by ministers, who know themselves the originals, and are able to remove misapprehensions that will always arise, to some extent, in connection with all translations and reproductions. But this first step of the mastery of the divine original text may be accomplished and yet the grace of God that is in the Scriptures remain entirely unknown. It is as if a man should enter the king's garden and devote his entire attention to the study of the gates and walls.

(b) The second step in Biblical study is literary criticism or Higher Criticism (see Chaps. VII., VIII., and IX.). The sacred Scriptures are composed of a great variety of writings of different authors in different periods of history, writing in many different styles, such as poetry and prose, history and story, epistle and prophecy. Some of this literature is exceedingly choice from a

purely literary point of view. An anthology of the choicest pieces of Biblical literature would certainly be a very profitable study for many of God's people. Their eyes would be opened to the wondrous forms of beauty in which God has chosen to reveal His grace of redemption. But to study the Bible as sacred literature is not to study it as a means of grace. Exclusive devotion to that theme is as if one should enter the king's garden, and instead of going at once to his gracious presence, in accordance with his invitation, we should devote ourselves to the beautiful trees and flowers and ornamental shrubs and landscape.

(c) The third work of Biblical study is Biblical exegesis (see Chap. X.). In this department the student in every way endeavors to get at the true meaning of the Scriptures. The particular passage and the entire writing under consideration must be studied with the most minute accuracy, and, at the same time, the most comprehensive summation of evidence. But even this may be carried on in a most thorough and successful manner in all its stages, except the last and highest (see p. 363), without finding God in Jesus Christ. Some of the best exegetes have not been true Christians. The peril in exegesis is, the becoming absorbed in details, and in giving ourselves to the quest after truth and scholarly accuracy. It is as if one entered the king's garden and devoted himself at once to a scientific examination and classification of its contents, the survey and mapping out of its sections.

(d) The fourth work of Biblical study is the study of the theology of the Bible (see Chap. XI.)—its religion, its doctrines, and its morals. This is the highest attainment of Biblical scholarship, but it is not the study of the Bible as a means of grace. It is as if we entered the king's

palace and devoted our attention to the principles and maxims of his administration, the rules of his household, while the king himself was graciously waiting to receive us into his own presence and give us the kiss of fatherly salutation.

All of these various subjects of Biblical study are vastly important. The Church has not yet awakened to the vast possibilities and the wonderful fruitage to be derived from Biblical study. No one could exalt these departments, each and all of them, more highly than we are disposed to do, but notwithstanding, it must be said that if all these studies could be accomplished in a most scholarly manner, the chief thing, the one supreme thing, might still remain unaccomplished—namely, the study of the Bible as a means of grace. This is the highest achievement of Biblical study. For prayer will seek first the presence and the person of God. It will not be detained by anything in the Bible. It will press on through the text, the literature, the exegesis, and the theology, giving them but slight attention, a mere passing glance, firmly advancing into the presence-chamber of God. It will run in the footsteps of the divine Spirit until the man is ushered into the presence of the Heavenly Father and bows in adoration and love to the dear Saviour and has the adoption and recognition of sonship. Then first will he be assured that the Bible is indeed the Word of God, the inspired canon, when he has found God in the Bible (see Chap. V.); then first will he understand the Scriptures at their centre, in their very heart, when he has recognized his Saviour in them (see Chap. X., p. 364); then in the light of the Redeemer's countenance, the student may go forth to the enjoyment of all the beauties and glories and wondrous manifestations of truth and love in the Scriptures, and find them radiant with the love of Christ,

and pervaded throughout with the effectual grace of God. As an ancient Puritan divine has said :

" Thus in the Scriptures ye find life, because the Word is so effectual to doe you good, to convert your soul, to pull down Satan's throne, and to build up the soul in grace. It is a hammer to break the hard heart, a fire to purge the drossie heart, a light to shine into the darke heart, an oyle to revive the broken heart, armour of proof to stablish the weake and tempted heart. If these precious things be matters of Christian religion ; then surely the written word is the foundation of it. Eternal life is in the Scriptures, because they testify of Christ, they set forth Christ who is the way the truth and the life ; in them ye find life, because in them ye find Christ. So far as by Scripture we get acquaintance with Christ ; so far we are acquainted with salvation and no farther. For if you knew all Histories and all the prophecies, if ye had the whole Bible by heart, if by it you could judge of all disputes, yet until you find Christ there, you cannot find life ; the Scriptures are to us salvificall because they bring us unto Christ." *

(2) Faith in the form of prayerful attention and investigation is followed by *appropriating* faith. The attention becomes more and more absorbed in its object. Prayer having attained its quest is satisfied and grateful. The grace of God, so evidently set forth in the Scriptures in Jesus Christ the Saviour, is appropriated in this personal contact. The affections are generated and impart to faith new vigor. The Holy Spirit grasps the hand of prayer and pours into it the treasures of grace, and they are clasped as infinitely precious to believing and loving hearts. As a distinguished modern divine says :

" Holy Scripture gives faith its object. It puts Christianity in its purity and attractiveness before our eyes as an object which is itself a challenge and inducement to enter into union with it by faith." . . . " The Holy Spirit perpetually glorifies Christ as He is set

* Lyford, *Plain Man's Sense increased*, 1635, pp. 32, 60.

forth in Scripture, makes Him emerge, so to speak, from the letter and stand out in living form before us. He thus brings us through the medium of Holy Scripture into communion with the living Christ." *

Thus faith and love are the two eyes of the soul that see the living Christ present in His Word. They are the spiritual appetites by which we partake of the bread of heaven and living water. Such a receiving is an ever-increasing enjoyment of the infinite riches of divine grace, the inexhaustible treasures of redemptive love. The supply of grace in the Scriptures is inexhaustible. The possibilities of the growth of the affections of faith and love are only limited by the possibilities of grace itself. This system of grace is compared by the prophet Zechariah to a vast self-feeding lamp-stand with its seven branches and lighted lamps, supplied by the ever-living, growing, and oil-producing olive-trees that stand by its sides and overshadow it (Zech. iv.). The oil of grace is ever fresh and new—the light is ever bright and brilliant. Faith's eye sees and understands it more and more.

But just here it is necessary to guard against a too common error. It is true that the grace of God pervades the Scriptures and Christ is the master of the Scriptures, but it is not equally easy for faith to see and appreciate the grace of God in every passage. The Bible contains supplies of grace for all the world, and for all time, for the weak and baby Christians, for the strong and manly Christians, for the immature Christian centuries, and for the church in its highest development as the Bride of the Lamb. Training in the school of grace is indispensable for the appropriation of the grace of the Scriptures. There are but few who are able to appropriate more than the grace that lies on the surface

* *Dorner System of Christian Doctrine*, IV., pp. 260, 261.

of the plainest passages of Scripture. The Church is constantly learning new lessons of grace from the Scriptures. We have a right to expect still greater light to break forth from the Scriptures when the Church has been prepared to receive it. The Church did not attain its maturity at the Nicene Council. Augustine was not the highest achievement of Christian faith and experience. The Protestant Reformation did not introduce the golden age. A church that is not growing in grace is a lukewarm, if not a dead church. A theology that is not progressive is bedridden, if not a dead theology. The Church needs a greater Reformation than it has ever yet enjoyed—a more extensive pouring out of the Holy Spirit, a deeper quickening, a more intense devotion in love and service to our Saviour and the interests of His kingdom. We are convinced that the seeds of such a Reformation are embedded in the Bible, only waiting a new spring-time of the world to shoot forth. The grace of God will reveal itself to another Luther and another Calvin at no very distant day, in vastly greater richness and fulness, for the sanctification of the Church and the preparation of the Bride for her Bridegroom. In the meantime it behooves us all to turn away from the abnormal, immature, and defective experiences and systems of very poor Christians so often held up to us as models for our attainment, and to set our faces as a flint against every wresting of Scripture in the interest of any dogma, new or old, and concentrate our faith and love upon the image of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, the crucified, risen and glorified Redeemer. He is the one object that concentrates the grace of God—the fountain source of supply for all believers. Into His image as the divine likeness we are to be transformed, and we ought to think of no other.

The Scriptures are indeed means, not ends. They are to bring us to God, to assimilate us to Christ, to unite us in organic union with Him. If this has not been accomplished, there has been very great failure, however much we may have accomplished in Biblical scholarship, or Dogmatic Theology, in the History and Polity of the Church, in devotional reading and preaching, in the application of particular passages to our souls. But those who have become personally attached to Jesus Christ have found the Master of the Scriptures. He is the key to its treasures, the clue to its labyrinths. Under His instruction and guidance believers search the Scriptures with ever-increasing pleasure and profit. They ever find treasures new and old. They understand the secret of grace. They know how to extract it from the varied forms in which it is enveloped. They explore the deepest mines and bring forth lustrous gems of truth. They climb the highest peaks and rapturously gaze on the vast territories of their Lord. With the Psalmist they exclaim (Ps. cxix. 97, 103, 127, 160):

"O how I love thy instruction!
It is my meditation all the day.

"How sweet are thy words unto my taste!
Sweeter than honey to my mouth.

"I love thy commandments above gold,
Yea above fine gold.

"The sum of thy words is truth,
And everlasting all thy righteous judgments."

(3) But the grace of God in the Scriptures can be fully appropriated only by *practicing faith*. Our Saviour taught His disciples: "If any man willeth to do his will he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God or

whether I speak from myself" (John vii. 17). Experiment is ever the victor of doubt. Faith is tested by practice. Abraham's faith was proved by his willingness to sacrifice his well-beloved son. Mere faith is seeming faith, a shadow, a dead vanity. A real, genuine, living faith apprehends and uses divine grace. The grace of God is effectual. It is dynamic in its application of redemption. It is no less dynamic after it has been appropriated by man. The light of the world lights up Christian lamps. The water of life becomes in the believer a fountain, from which shall flow rivers of living water (John vii. 38). The grace of God is made effectual by "laying it up in our hearts and practicing it in our lives." The grace of God becomes a grace of experience. Unless the divine grace continue to flow forth from a man in his life and conduct, the source of supply is stopped. As a reservoir which has no outlet will have no incoming waters. A lamp that does not burn will not be able to receive fresh supplies of oil.

From this two things follow:

(a) If a Christian man would use the Scriptures as a means of grace he must continually put them in practice in his heart and life. If the church would apprehend more and more the riches of the grace of Jesus Christ contained in the Scriptures it must become a more practical, earnest, Christ-like church. The source of supply from the Scripture reservoir is feeble because the outflowing of grace from Christian men and women is feeble.

(b) Christians become secondary sources of supply. The Word of God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, when appropriated by the Christian, assimilated to his needs, transformed into his life, does not cease to be the Gospel of the grace of God. The external form has been

changed, but the internal substance of grace is the same. The Word of God does not cease to be the Word of God when wrapped in other than Scripture language. Hence it is that the Christian becomes a living epistle of God (2 Cor. iii. 3), and the Church, as a body of such epistles, a means of grace, conveying the divine grace in another form to the world. It is ever the grace of God that is the effectual divine force and not the form in which for the time it may be enveloped. Happy the church when its ministers have become more really such living epistles, written with the Spirit of the living God! Blessed will that time be, when the entire membership of the church shall become such epistles, when Christ, who so loved the Church and gave Himself for it, shall have sanctified it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the Word (Eph. v. 25)! Then will the ancient prophecy be realized (Heb. viii. 10-11):

“ I will put my laws in their mind,
And on their heart also will I write them :
And I will become their God,
And they shall become my people :
And they shall not teach every one his fellow-citizen,
And every one his brother, saying, Know the Lord :
For all shall know me,
From the least to the greatest of them.”

A CATALOGUE

OF

BOOKS OF REFERENCE FOR BIBLICAL STUDY.

* * This catalogue has been prepared for those who desire to pursue Biblical study in three grades : (1). The books marked with a star and placed first in each division, are recommended to the general public. (2). The books marked with a cross, following those marked with a star, are recommended for theological students and ministers. (3). The remainder of the books mentioned have been selected for a reference library in a theological seminary, as an introduction to a more scholarly study of the Scriptures. The arrangement is first topical, and second in accordance with relative importance to the several classes of students. Honorary and official titles of authors or editors have been omitted.

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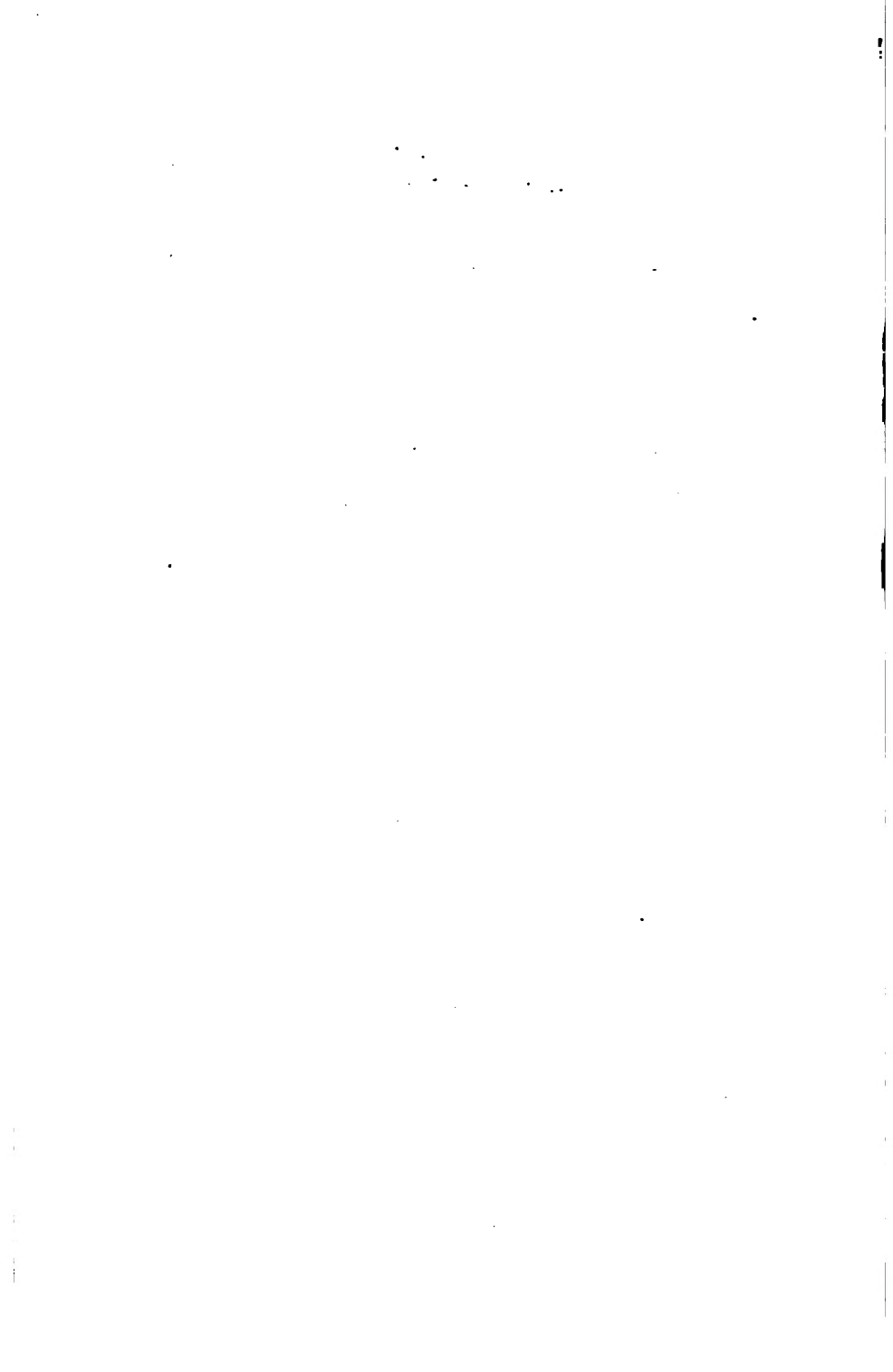
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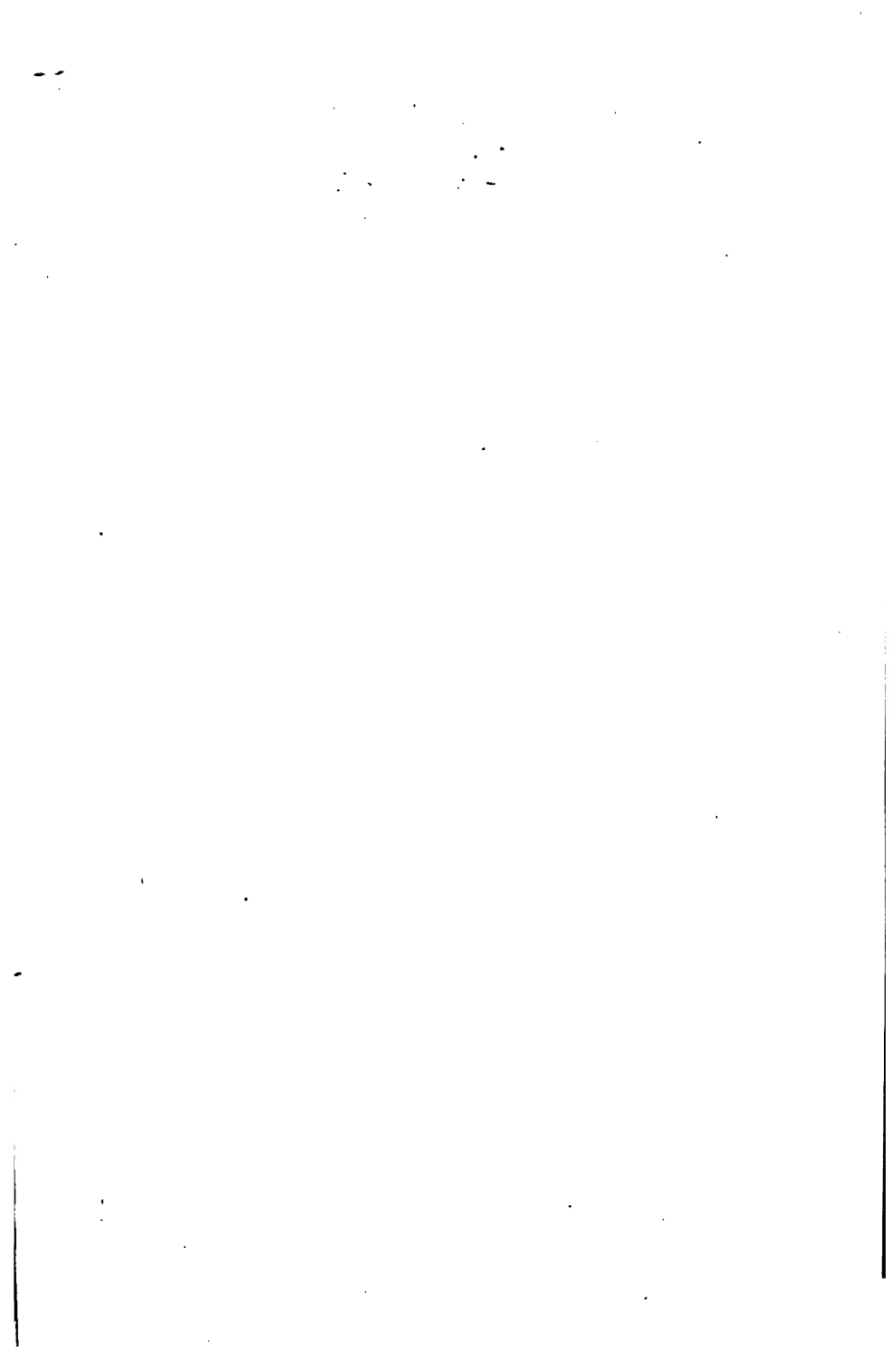
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